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TOXOPHILUS, 1545.

JOSEPH ADDISON/

CRITICISM ON MILTON'S 'PARADISE LOST,' 1711-2.

LONDON:

ALEX. MURRAY & SON, 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.

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TOXOPHILUS.

1545.

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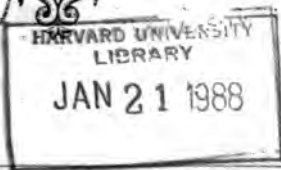
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CHRONICLE

of
some of the principal events
in the
LIFE, WORKS, and TIMES*

of
ROGER ASCHAM,

Fellow of St. John's College. Cambridge. Author. Tutor to Princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth. Secretary of Embassy under Edward VI. Latin Secretary to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. Friend of Queen Elizabeth, &c.

* Probable or approximate dates.

THE chief contemporary authorities for the life of Ascham are his own works, particularly his Letters, and a Latin oration *De vita et obitu Rogeri Aschami*, written by Rev. Dr. Edward Graunt or Grant, Headmaster of Westminster School, and 'the most noted Latinist and Grecian of his time.' This oration is affixed to the first collection of Ascham's Letters: the date of Grant's dedication to which is 16. Feb. 1576.

The figures in brackets, as (40), in the present work, refer to Ascham's letters as arranged in Dr. Giles' edition.

1509. April 22. Henry VIII. succeeds to the throne.

1511-12. 3. Hen. VIII. c. 3. required—under penalty on default of 12d per month—all subjects under 60, not lame, decrepid, or maimed, or having any other lawful Impediment; the Clergy Judges &c excepted; to use shooting in the long bow. Parents were to provide every boy from 7 to 17 years, with a bow and two arrows: after 17, he was to find himself a bow and four arrows. Every Bower for every Ewe bow he made was to make 'at the lest ij Bowes of Elme Wiche or other Wode of mean price,' under penalty of Imprisonment for 8 days. Butts were to be provided in every town. Aliens were not to shoot with the long bow without licence.
3 Hen. VIII. c. 13. confirms 19. Hen. VII. c. 4 'against shooting in Cross-bowes &c,' which enacted that no one with less than 200 marks a year should use. This act increased the qualification from 200 to 300 marks.—*Statutes of the Realm. iii. 25. 32.*

*1515.

ROGER ASCHAM was born in the year 1515, at Kirby Wiske; (or Kirby Wicke,) a village near North Allerton in Yorkshire, of a family above the vulgar. His father, John Ascham, was house-steward in the family of Lord Scroop, and is said to have borne an unblemished reputation for honesty and uprightness of life. Margaret, wife of John Ascham, was allied to many considerable families, but her maiden name is not known. She had three sons, Thomas, Antony, and Roger, besides some daughters; and we learn from a letter (21) written by her son Roger, in the year 1544, that she and her husband having lived together forty-seven years, at last died on the same day and almost at the same hour.

Roger's first years were spent under his father's roof, but he was received at a very youthful age into the family of Sir Antony Wingfield, who furnished money for his education, and placed Roger, together with his own sons, under a tutor, whose name was R. Bond. The boy had by nature a taste for books, and showed his good taste by reading English in preference to Latin, with

Childhood.

wonderful eagerness. . . .—*Grant. Condensed translation by Dr. Giles in Life: see p. 10, No 9.*

"This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnynge, whiche god hath lent me: and for his sake do I owe my seruice to all other of the name and noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in woord and dede. Thys worshipfull man hath euer loued and vsed, to haue many children brought vp in learnynge in his house amonges whome I my selfe was one. For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from London bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fyeelde, and se them shoote, and he that shot fayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfaouredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better."—*p. 140.*

In or about the year 1530, Mr. Bond . . . resigned the charge of young Roger, who was now about fifteen years old, and, by the advice and pecuniary aid of his kind patron Sir Antony, he was enabled to enter St. John's College, Cambridge, at that time the most famous seminary of learning in all England. His tutor was Hugh Fitzherbert, fellow of St. John's, whose intimate friend, George Pember, took the most lively interest in the young student. George Day, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Redman, one of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, Nicholas Ridley the Martyr, T. Watson Bishop of Lincoln, Pilkington Bishop of Durham, Walter Had- don, John Christopherson, Thomas Wilson, John Seton, and many others, were the distinguished contemporaries of Ascham at Cambridge.—*Grant and Giles, idem.*

1530.

Oct. 15.

1534. Feb. 18.

Oct. 18.

Mar. 23.

1537-40.

My sweete tyme spent at Cambridge. The Scholemaster, fol. 60, Ed. 1590.

Childhood.

He takes his B.A. "Being a boy, new Bachelor of arte, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope: which matter was than in euery mans mouth, because *Dr. Haines* and *Dr. Shippe* were cum from the Court, to debate the same matter, by preaching and disputation in the vniuersitie. This hapned the same tyme, when I stooode to be felow there: my taulke came to *Dr. Medcalfes* [Master of St. John's Coll.] eare: I was called before him and the Seniores: and after greuous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was geuen to all the felowes, none to be so hardie to geue me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threatres, the good father himselfe priuillie procured, that I should euen than be chosen felow. But, the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentation thereat. This good mans goodnes, and fatherlie discretion, vsed towards me that one day, shall neuer out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the same cause, haue I put it here, in this small record of learning. For next Gods providence, surely that day, was by that good fathers meanes, *Dies natalis*, to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learning I haue, and of all the furdurance, that hetherto else where I haue obtayned."—*Scho. fol. 55.*

"Before the king's majesty established his lecture at Cambridge, I was appointed by the votes of all the university, and was paid a handsome salary, to profess the Greek tongue in public; and I have ever since read

'My sweete tyme spent at Cambridge.' *The Scholemaster*, fol. 60. Ed. 1570.

Tutor.

- a lecture in St. John's college, of which I am a fellow."
(28) *To Sir W. Paget in 1544.*
[*die martis post festum Dini Petri et Pauli* (June 29)
1537. July 3. *Grants*]. Is installed M.A.
1538. Spring. Visits his parents in Yorkshire, whom he had not seen
et. 22. for seven years.
Autumn. Date of his earliest extant letter.
1540-1542. Is at home in Yorkshire, for nearly two years, with
quartan fever. Probably about this time he attended the
archery meetings at York and Norwich. *pp.* 159. 160.
1540. et. 24. 'In the great snowe,' journeying 'in the hye waye
betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale; and Borrowe bridge,' he
watches the nature of the wind by the snow-drifts. *p.* 157.
1541. et. 25. Upon his repeated application, Edward Lee, Archbp
of York, grants him a pension of 40s. (= £40 of present
money) payable at the feast of Annunciation and on
Michaelmas day. *see* (24). This pension ceased on the
death of the Archbishop in 1544.
1541-2. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. 'An Acte for Mayntanance of
Artyllarie and debarringe of unlauful Games.' confirms
3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. and, *inter alia*, directs that no Bowyer
shall sell a Ewe bow to any between 8 and 14 years, above
the price of 12d, but shall have for such, Ewe bows from
6d to 12d: and likewise shall sell bows at reasonable prices
to youth from 14 to 21 years. Ewe bows 'of the taxe called
Elke' were not to be sold above 3s 4d, under penalty of
20s.—*Statutes of the Realm*. iii. 837.
1544. *Spring. et. 28. Ascham writes *Toxophilus*.
After Lady Day. Both his parents die. "How hard is my lot! I first
lost my brother, such an one as not only our family, but
all England could hardly match, and now to lose both
my parents as if I was not already overwhelmed with
sorrow!" (21) *To Cheke*.
Before July. "I have also written and dedicated to the king's
majesty a book, which is now in the press, *On the art
of Shooting*, and in which I have shown how well it is
fitted for Englishmen both at home and abroad, and how
certain rules of art may be laid down to ensure its being
learnt thoroughly by all our fellow-countrymen. This
book, I hope, will be published before the king's depart-
ure, and will be no doubtful sign of my love to my coun-
try, or mean memorial of my humble learning. (22) *To
Sir W. Paget*.
July—Sept. 30. The king out of the kingdom, at the head of 30,000 men
at the siege of Boulogne, in France.
1545. et. 29. Ascham presents *Toxophilus* to the king, in the gallery
at Greenwich. He is granted a pension of £10. *pp.* 165-166.
He is ill again, and unable to reside at Cambridge.
1546. et. 30. Succeeds Cheke as Public Orator of his University,
in which capacity he conducts its correspondence.
1547. Jan. 28. Edward VI. comes to the throne.
Ascham's pension which ceased on the death of
Henry VIII., was confirmed and augmented by Edward
VI., whom he taught to write. [Ascham's pension is
one of the prominent things in his life.]
1548. Feb. et. 32. Is Tutor to Princess Elizabeth, at Cheston. Attacked
1549. Sept. et. 33. by her steward, he returns to the university.
1550. et. 34. While at home in the country, Ascham is appointed, at
the instigation of Cheke, as Secretary to Sir Richard
Morison, sent out as Ambassador to Emperor Charles V.
On his way to town, has his famous interview with
Lady Jane Grey at Broadgate. *Scholemaster*, fol. 12.



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that Poet was a verie foole, that began hys booke, with a goodlie verse in deede, but ouer proude a promise.

Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum,

And after, as wiselie

Quandò rectius hic, qui nil molitur ineptè. &c.

Meening *Homer*, who, within the compasse of a smal Argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did vtter so moch learning in all kinde of sciences, as, by the iudgement of *Quintilian*, he deserueth so hie a praise, that no man yet deserued to sit in the second degree beneth him. And thus moch out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, and tyme, vpon trifles, and namelie to aunswere some, that haue neither witte nor learning, to do any thyng them selues, neither will nor honestie, to say well of other" *

Certain it is, that in both *Toxophilus* and *The Scholemaster* (the *Cockpitte* if ever printed, is now lost); not only are the main arguments interwoven with a most earnest moral purpose; but they are enlivened by frequent and charming discursions, in the which he often lays down great principles, or illustrates them from the circumstances of his time. So that in these two ways, these works, being not rigidly confined to the technical subjects expressed by their titles, do 'beare,' both in those subjects and in the passing thoughts, much of what is the highest truth.

If a Yorkshire man—who had become a ripe English Scholer, and was also a fluent English writer as well as conversant with other languages and literatures—were, in the present day, to sit down to write, for the first time, in the defence and praise of Cricket, a book in the Yorkshire dialect: he would be able to appreciate somewhat Ascham's position when he began to write the present work. For he lived in the very dawn of our modern learning. Not to speak of the hesitation and doubt that always impedes any novelty, the absence of any antecedent literature left him without any model of style. Accustomed as he had hitherto been to write chiefly in Latin, he must have found English composition both irksome and laborious. Yet his love for his

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1 July, 1868.

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*Gualterus Haddonus
Cantabrigien.*

*Mittere qui celeres summa uelit arte sagittas,
Ars erit ex isto summa profecta libro.
Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, neruique rotundi,
Sumere si libet, hoc sumere fonte licet.
Aschamus est author, magnum quem fecit Apollo
Arte sua, magnum Pallas & arte sua.
Docta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc mens docta libellum :
Quæ uidet Ars Vfus uisa, parata facit.
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima scripta,
Conuenit hec uobis optima uelle sequi.*

** To the moſte graciouſe, and our moſt drad Soueraigne lord,
 Kyng Henrie the. viii, by the grace of God, kyng
 of Englande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defen
 der of the ſaythe, and of the church
 of Englande and alſo of Irelande
 in earth ſupreme head, next vn
 der Chriſt, be al health
 victorie, and fe-
 licitie.*



THAT tyme as, moſte gracious Prince, your
 highnes this laſt year paſt, tooke that your
 mooſt honorable and victoriorious journey
 into Fraunce, accompanied vvith ſuch a
 porte of the Nobilitie and yeomanrie of
 Englande, as neyther hath bene lyke knovven by ex-
 perience, nor yet red of in Hiftorie : accompanied alſo
 vvith the daylie prayers, good hartes, and vvilles of
 all and euery one your graces ſubiectes, lefte behinde
 you here at home in Englande : the ſame tyme, I
 beinge at my booke in Cambrige, ſorie that my litle
 habilitie could ſtretch out no better, to helpe forward
 ſo noble an enterprice, yet with my good vvylle, prayer,
 and harte, nothinge behynde hym that vvas formoſte
 of all, conceyued a vvonderful deſire, bi the praier,
 vvifhing, talking, and communication that vvas in euery
 mans mouth, for your Graces mooſt victoriorious retourne,
 to offer vp ſumthinge, at your home cumming to your
 Highneſſe, vvich ſhuld both be a token of mi loue
 and deutie tovvard your Maieſtie, and alſo a ſigne of
 my good minde and zeale tovvarde mi countrie.

This occaſion geuen to me at that time, cauſed me

* This dedication is entirely omitted in ſecond edition, 1571.

to take in hand againe, this litle purpose of shoting, begon of me before, yet not ended than, for other studies more mete for that trade of liuinge, vvhiche God and mi frendes had set me vnto. But vvhen your Graces moste ioifull and happie victorie preuented mi dailie and spedie diligencie to performe this matter, I vvas compelled to vvaite an other time to prepare and offer vp this litle boke vnto your Maiestie. And vvhan it hath pleased youre Highnesse of your infinit goodnesse, and also your most honorable Counsel to knovv and pervaue ouer the contentes, and some parte of this boke, and so to alovv it, that other men might rede it, throughe the furderaunce and setting forthe of the right worshipfull and mi Singuler good Master sir Vvilliam Pagette Knight, moost vvorthie Secretarie to your highnes, and most open and redie succoure to al poore honest learned mens sutes, I moost humblie besefche your Grace to take in good vvorthie this litle treatise purposed, begon, and ended of me onelie for this intent, that Labour, Honest pastime and Vertu, might recouer againe that place and right, that Idlenesse, Vnthriftie gamning and Vice hath put them fro.

And althoughe to haue vvritten this boke either in latin or Greke (vvhich thing I vvould be verie glad yet to do, if I might surelie knovv your Graces pleasure there in) had bene more easier and fit for mi trade in study, yet neuerthelesse, I supposinge it no point of honestie, that mi commodite should stop and hinder ani parte either of the pleasure or profite of manie, haue vvritten this Englishe matter in the Englishe tongue, for Englishe men: vvhere in this I trust that your Grace (if it shall please your Highnesse to rede it) shal perceauue it to be a thinge Honestie for me to vvrite, pleasaunt for some to rede, and profitable for manie to solovv, contening a pastime, honest for the minde, holsome for the body, fit for eueri man, vile for no man, vsing the day and open place for Honestie to rule it, not lurking in corners for misorder to abuse it.

Therefore I trust it shal apere, to be bothe a sure token
of my zeele to set forwarde shootinge, and some signe
of my minde, tovvardes honestie and learninge.

Thus I vvill trouble your Grace no longer, but
vvith my daylie praier, I vvill befeche God to
preferue your Grace, in al health and feli-
citie : to the feare and ouerthrowve
of all your ennemies : to the
pleasure, ioyfulnesse and
succour of al your sub-
iectes : to the vtter
destruction
of papi-
strie and heresie : to the con-
tinuall setting forth of
Goddess vvorde
and his glo-
rye.

Your Graces most
bounden Scholer,

Roger Ascham.

TO ALL GENTLE MEN AND YOMEN OF ENGLANDE.

Bias the wyfe man came to Crefus the ryche kyng, on a tyme, when he was makynge newe shyppes, purpofyng to haue fubdued by water the out yles lying betwixt Grece and Asia minor: What newes now in Grece, faith the king to Bias? None other newes, but thefe, fayeth Bias: that the yles of Grece haue prepared a wonderful companye of horfemen, to ouerrun Lydia withall. There is nothyng vnder heauen, fayth the kyng, that I woulde fo fooner wiffhe, as that they durft be fo bolde, to mete vs on the lande with horfe. And thinke you fayeth Bias, that there is anye thyng which they wolde fooner wyffhe, then that you fhulde be fo fonde, to mete them on the water with shyppes? And fo Crefus hearyng not the true newes, but perceuyng the wife mannes mynde and counfell, both gaue then ouer makynge of his shyppes, and left alfo behynde him a wonderful example for all commune wealthes to folowe: that is euermore to regarde and fet moft by that thing wherevnto nature hath made them mooft apt, and vfe hath made them mooft fitte.

By this matter I meane the shotyng in the long bowe, for Englifh men: which thyng with all my hert I do wyfh, and if I were of authoritie, I wolde counfel all the gentlemen and yomen of Englande, not to chaunge it with any other thyng, how good foeuer it feme to be: but that ftyll, accordyng to the oulde wont of England, youth fhoulde vfe it for the mooft honeft pafyme in peace, that men myght handle it as a moofte fure weapon in warre. Other ftrong weapons whiche bothe experience doth proue to be good, and the

wyfdom of the kinges Maieftie and his counfel prouydes to be had, are not ordeyned to take away shotyng : but yat both, not compared together, whether shuld be better then the other, but fo ioyned together that the one shoulde be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, myght fo strengthen the Realme on all fydes, that no kynde of enemy in any kynde of weapon, myght paffe and go beyonde vs.

For this purpose I, partelye prouoked by the counsell of some gentlemen, partly moued by the loue whiche I haue alwayes borne towarde shotyng, haue wrytten this lytle treatise, wherein if I haue not satisfiied any man, I trust he wyll the rather be content with my doying, bycause I am (I suppose) the firste, whiche hath sayde any thyng in this matter (and fewe begynnynge be perfect, sayth wyse men) And also bycause yf I haue sayed a misse, I am content that any man amende it, or yf I haue sayd to lytle, any man that wyl to adde what hym pleaseth to it.

My minde is, in profitynge and pleasynge euery man, to hurte or displease no man, intendyng none other purpose, but that youthe myght be styrred to labour, honest pastyme, and vertue, and as much as laye in me, plucked from ydlenes, vnthristie games, and vice : whyche thing I haue laboured onlye in this booke, shewynge howe fit shootyng is for all kyndes of men, howe honest a pastyme for the mynde, howe holosome an exercise for the bodye, not vile for great men to vse, not costlye for poore men to susteyne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at theyr pleasure, to misvse it, but abiding in the open sight and face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wisdome to correct it.

And here I woulde desire all gentlemen and yomen, to vse this pastime in suche a mean, that the outrageousnes of great gamyng, shuld not hurte the honestie of shotyng, which of his owne nature is alwayes ioyned with honestie : yet for mennes faultes oftentimes blamed vnworthely, as all good thynges haue ben, and euer more shall be.

If any man woulde blame me, eyther for takynge such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answere I may make hym, that whan the beste of the realme thinke it honest for them to vse, I one of the meanest forte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write : And though to haue written it in an other tonge, had bene bothe more profitable for my study, and also more honest for my name, yet I can thinke my labour wel bestowed, yf with a little hynderaunce of my profyt and name, maye come any fourtheraunce, to the pleasure or commoditie, of the gentlemen and yeomen of Englande, for whose sake I tooke this matter in hande. And as for ye Latin or greke tonge, euery thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better : In the Englysh tonge contrary, euery thinge in a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelynge, that no man can do worfe. For therein the least learned for the moste parte, haue ben alwayes moost redye to wryte And they whiche had leaste hope in latin, haue bene moste boulde in englyshe : when surelye euery man that is moste ready to taulke, is not moost able to wryte. He that wyll wryte well in any tongue, muste folowe thys counsel of Aristotle, to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do ; and so shoulde euery man vnderstande hym, and the iudgement of wyse men alowe hym. Many English writers haue not done so, but vsinge straunge wordes as latin, french and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man whiche reasoned the englyshe tongue to be enryched and encreased therby, sayinge : Who wyll not prayse that feaste, where a man shall drinke at a diner, bothe wyne, ale and beere ? Truely quod I, they be all good, euery one taken by hym selfe alone, but if you putte Maluesye and sacke, read wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drynke, neyther easie to be knowen, nor yet holsom for the bodye. Cicero in folowyng Isocrates, Plato and Demosthenes, increased the latine tounge after an

other forte. This waye, bycause dyuers men yat write, do not know, they can neyther folowe it, bycause of theyr ignorauncie, nor yet will prayse it, for verye arrogauncie, ii faultes, seldome the one out of the others companye.

Englysh writers by diuerfitie of tyme, haue taken diuerse matters in hande. In our fathers tyme nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualric, wherein a man by redinge, shuld be led to none other ende, but onely to manilaughter and baudrye. Yf any man suppose they were good ynough to passe the time with al, he is deceyued. For surelye vayne woordes doo worke no smal thinge in vayne, ignoraunt, and younge mindes, specially yf they be gyuen any thyng therunto of theyr owne nature. These bokes (as I haue heard say) were made the moſte parte in Abbayes, and Monasteries, a very lickely and fit fruite of suche an ydle and blynde kinde of lyuyng.

In our tyme nowe, whan euery manne is gyuen to knowe muche rather than to liue wel, very many do write, but after suche a fashion, as very many do shoote. Some shooters take in hande stronger bowes, than they be able to mayntayne. This thyng maketh them summtyme, to outshoote the marke, summtyme to shote far wyde, and perchaunce hurte summe that looke on. Other that neuer learned to shote, nor yet knoweth good shafte nor bowe, wyll be as busie as the best, but suche one commonly plucketh doune a fyde, and crafty archers which be agaynst him, will be bothe glad of hym, and also euer ready to laye and bet with him: it were better for suche one to sit doune than shote. Other there be, whiche haue verye good bowe and shaftes, and good knowledge in shootinge, but they haue bene brought vp in suche euyl fauoured shootyng, that they can neyther shoote fayre, nor yet nere. Yf any man wyll applye these thynges togyther, shal not se the one farre differ from the other.

And I also amonges all other, in writinge this lytle treatise, haue folowed summe yonge shooters, whiche

bothe wyll Begyn to shoote, for a lytle moneye, and also wyll vse to shote ones or twise about the marke for nought, afore they beginne a good. And therfore did I take this little matter in hande, to assaye my selfe, and hereafter by the grace of God, if the iudgement of wyse men, that looke on, thinke that I can do any good, I maye perchaunce caste my shafte amonge other, for better game.

Yet in writing this booke, some man wyll maruayle perchaunce, why that I beyng an vnperfyte shoter, shoulde take in hande to write of makying a perfyte archer: the same man peraduenture wyll maruayle, howe a whettestone whiche is blunte, can make the edge of a knife sharpe: I woulde ye same man shulde consider also, that in goyng about anye matter, there be. iiii. thinges to be considered, doying, saying, thinking and perfectnesse: Firste there is no man that doth so wel, but he can saye better, or elles summe men, whiche be now starke nought, shuld be to good. Agayne no man can vtter wyth his tong, so wel as he is able to imagin with his minde, and yet perfectnesse it selfe is farre aboue all thinking. Than seeing that saying is one steppe nerer perfectenesse than doying, let euery man leue marueylyng why my woorde shall rather expresse, than my dede shall perfourme perfecte shootinge.

I truste no man will be offended with this litle booke excepte it be summe fletchers and bowiers, thinking hereby that manye that loue shootynge shall be taughte to refuse suche noughtie wares as they woulde vtter. Honest fletchers and bowyers do not so, and they that be vnhonest, oughte rather to amende them selues for doinge ill, than be angrie with me for sayinge wel. A fletcher hath euen as good a quarell to be angry with an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a bladesmith hath to a fletcher yat forsaketh to bye of him a noughtie knyfe. For as an archer must be content that a fletcher know a good shafte in euery poynte for the perfecter makynge of it, So an honeste fletcher will also be content that a shooter knowe a good shafte in euery

poynte for the perfiter vsing of it : bicause the one knoweth like a fletcher how to make it, the other knoweth lyke an archer howe to vse it. And feyng the knowlege is one in them bothe, yet the ende diuerse, surely that fletcher is an enemye to archers and artillery, whiche can not be content that an archer knowe a shafte as well for his vse in shotynge, as he hym selfe shoulde knowe a shafte, for hys aduauntage in fellynge. And the rather bycause shaftes be not made so muche to be solde, but chesely to be vsed. And feyng that vse and occupieng is the ende why a shafte is made, the making as it were a meane for occupying, surely the knowlege in euery poynte of a good shafte, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher.

Yet as I sayde before no honest fletcher will be angry with me, feinge I do not teache howe to make a shafte whiche belongeth onely to a good fletcher, but to knowe and handle a shafte, which belongeth to an archer. And this lytle booke I truste, shall please and profite both partes : For good bowes and shaftes shall be better knownen to the commoditie of al shoters, and good shotyng may perchaunce be the more occupied to the profite of all bowyers and fletchers. And thus I praye God that all fletchers getting theyr lyuynge truly, and al archers vsynge shootynge honestly, and all maner of men that fauour artillery, may lyue continuallye in

healthe and merineffe, obeying theyr
 prince as they shulde, and louing
 God as they ought, to whom
 for al thinges be al honour and glorye for
 euer. Amen

TOXOPHILVS,

The fchole of fhootinge conteyned in tvvo bookes.

*To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande,
pleafaunte for theyr paflyme to rede,
and profitable for theyr ufe
to folow, both in war
and peace.*

The contentes of the first booke.

Earneft bufinesse ought to be refreshed wyth honefte paflyme. . . .	Fol. 1.	[A p. 25.]
Shootyng moft honeft paflyme. . . .	3.	[B 29.]
The inuention of fhootinge. . . .	5.	[C 31.]
Shootyng fit for princes and greate men. 5.		[32.]
Shootyng, fit for Scholers and ftudentes. 8.		[D 37.]
Shootyng fitter for ftudentes than any mufike or Instrumentes. . . .	9.	[E 39.]
Youthe ought to learne to finge. . . .	11.	[41.]

No manner of man doth or can vse to
much shootynge. . . . 14. [p. 44.]

Agaynste vnlawfull gammes and namelye
cardes and dife. . . . 16. [ff 49.]

Shootyng in war. . . . 24. [66 62.]

Obedience the best propertie of a Soul-
dyar. . . . 25. [63.]

Reasons and authorites agaynste shoot-
ynge in war with the confutacion of the
same. . . . 26. [65.]

God is pleased with stronge wepons and
valyaunt feates of war. . . . 28. [70.]

The commoditie of Shootyng in war
throughe the Histories Greke and Latin,
and all nations Christen and Heathen. 29. [ff 70.]

Vse of shootynge at home causethe
stronge shootinge in warre. . . . 41. [ff 88.]

Vse of shootynge at home, except men
be apte by nature, and connyng by teach-
yng, doth litle good at all. . . . 43. [91.]

Lacke of learnynge to shoote causethe Eng-
lande lacke many a good archer. . . . 46. [95.]

In learnynge any thyng, a man must couete
to be best, or els he shal neuer attayne to
be meane. . . . 47. [98.]

TOXOPHILVS,

A,

The first booke of the schole of shoting.

Philologus.

Toxophilus.



Philologus You studie to fore Toxophile. Q

Tox. I wil not hurt my self ouer-
moche I warraunt you.

Phi. Take hede you do not, for we
Physicians saye, that it is nether good for
the eyes in so cleare a Sunne, nor yet holsome for ye
bodie, so soone after meate, to looke vpon a mans boke.

Tox. In eatinge and studyinge I will neuer folowe
anye Physike, for yf I dyd, I am sure I shoulde haue small
pleasure in the one, and lesse courage in the other.
But what newes draue you hyther I praye you?

Phi. Small newes trulie, but that as I came on
walkynge, I fortunéd to come with thre or foure that
went to shote at the pryckes: And when I sawe not
you amonges them, but at the last espyed you lokynge
on your booke here so sadlye, I thought to come and
holde you with some communication, lest your boke
shoulde runne away with you. For me thought by
your waueryng pace and earnest loking, your boke
led you, not you it.

Cor. In dede as it chaunced, my mynde went faster then my feete, for I happened here to reade in *Phedro Platonis*, a place that entretes wonderfullie of the nature of soules, which place (whether it were for the passynge eloquence of Plato, and the Greke tongue, or for the hyghe and godlie description of the matter, kept my mynde so occupied, that it had no leifure to loke to my feete. For I was reding howe some soules being well fethered, flewe alwayes about heauen and heauenlie matters, other some hauinge their fethers mowted awaye, and droupinge, sanke downe into earthlie thinges.

In *Phedro*.

Phi. I remembre the place verie wel, and it is wonderfullie sayd of Plato, and now I se it was no maruell though your fete sayled you, seing your minde flewe so fast.

Cor. I am gladde now that you letted me, for my head akes with loking on it, and bycause you tell me so, I am verie sorie yat I was not with those good feloes you spake vpon, for it is a verie faire day for a man to shote in.

Phi. And me thinke you were a great dele better occupied and in better companie, for it is a very faire daye for a man to go to his boke in.

Cor. Al dayes and wethers wil serue for that purpose, and surelie this occasion was ill lost.

Phi. Yea but clere wether maketh clere mindes, and it is best as I suppose, to spend ye best time vpon the best thinges: And me thought you shot verie wel, and at that marke, at which euery good scoler shoulde mooste busilie shote at. And I suppose it be a great dele more pleasure also, to se a foule flye in Plato, then a shafte flye at the prickes. I graunte you, shooting is not the worst thing in the world, yet if we shote, and time shote, we ar[e] not like to be great winners at the length. And you know also we scholers haue more earnest and weightie matters in hand, nor we be not borne to pastime and pley, as you know wel ynough who sayth.

Cor. Yet the same man in the same place *Philologe*,

by your leue, doth admitte holsome, honest
 and manerlie pastimes to be as necessarie
 to be mingled with sad matters of the minde, as eating
 and sleping is for the health of the body, and yet we
 be borne for neither of bothe. And Arist-
 totle him selfe sayth, yat although it were
 a fonde and a chyldish thing to be to earnest in pastime
 and play, yet doth he affirme by the authoritie of the
 oulde Poet Epicharmus, that a man may vse play for
 earnest matter sake. And in an other place,
 yat as rest is for labour, and medicines for
 helth, so is pastime at tymes for sad and weightie
 studie.

M. Cic. in off.

Arist. de mor-
ribus, 10. 6.Arist. Pol.
8. 3.

Phi. How moche in this matter is to be giuen to
 ye auctoritie either of Aristotle or Tullie, I can not
 tel, seing sad men may wel ynough speke merily for a
 merie matter, this I am sure, whiche thing this faire
 wheat (god faue it) maketh me remembre, yat those
 husbandmen which rise erliest, and come latest home,
 and are content to haue their diner and other drinck-
 inges, broughte into the felde to them, for feare of
 losing of time, haue fatter barnes in haruest, than
 they whiche will either slepe at none time of the daye,
 or els make merie with their neighbours at the ale.
 And so a scholer yat purposeth to be a good husband,
 and desireth to reape and enioy much fruite, of learn-
 inge, muste tylle and sowe thereafter. Our beste seede
 tyme, which be scholers, as it is verie tymelye, and
 whan we be yonge: so it endureth not ouerlonge, and
 therefore it maye not be let slippe one houre, oure
 grounde is verie harde, and full of wedes, our horse
 wherwith we be drawn very wylde as Plato sayth.
 And infinite other mo lettes whiche wil
 make a thriftie scholer take hede how he
 spendeth his tyme in sporte and pleye.

In Phedro.

Cor. That Aristotle and Tullie spake earnestlie, and
 as they thought, the earnest matter which they entreate
 vpon, doth plainlye proue. And as for your hus-
 bandrie, it was more probablie tolde with apt wordes

propre to ye thing, then throughly proued with reasons belongynge to our matter. Far contrariwise I herd my selfe a good husbände at his boke ones saye, that to omit studie somtime of the daye, and sometime of the yere, made asmoche for the encrease of learning, as to let the land lye sometime fallow, maketh for the better encrease of corne. This we se, yf the lande be plowed euerye yere, the corne commeth thinne vp, the eare is short, the grayne is small, and when it is brought into the barne and threshed, gyueth very euill faul. So those which neuer leaue poring on their bokes, haue oftentimes as thinne inuention, as other poore men haue, and as smal wit and weight in it as in other mens. And thus youre husbandrie me thinke, is more like the life of a couetouse snudge that oft very euill preues, then the labour of a good husband that knoweth wel what he doth. And furelie the best wittes to lerning must nedes haue moche recreation and ceasing from their boke, or els they marre them selues, when bafe and dompysshe wittes can neuer be hurte with continuall studie, as ye se in luting, that a treble minikin string must alwayes be let down, but at fuche time as when a man must nedes playe: when ye bafe and dull slyng nedeth neuer to be moued out of his place. The same reason I finde true in two bowes that I haue, wherof the one is quicke of cast, tricke, and trimme both for pleasure and profyte: the other is a lugge slowe of cast, folowing the string, more sure for to last, then pleasaunt for to vse. Now fir it chaunced this other night, one in my chambre wolde nedes bende them to proue their strenght, but I can not tel how, they were both left bente tyll the nexte daye at after dyner: and when I came to them, purposing to haue gone on shoting, I found my good bowe clene cast on the one side, and as weake as water, that furelie (if I were a riche man) I had rather haue spent a crowne; and as for my lugge, it was not one whyt the worse: but shotte by and by as wel and as farre as euer it dyd. And euen so I am sure that

good wittes, except they be let downe like a treble string, and vnent like a good casting bowe, they wil neuer last and be able to continue in studie. And I know where I speake this *Philologe*, for I wolde not saye thus moche afore yong men, for they wil take soone occasion to studie litle ynough. But I saye it therfore bicause I knowe, as litle studie getteth litle learninge or none at all, so the moost studie getteth not ye moost learning of all. For a mans witte fore occupied in earnest studie, must be as wel recreated with some honest pastime, as the body fore laboured, must be refreshed with slepe and quietnesse, or els it can not endure very longe, as the noble poete sayeth.

What thing wants quiet and meri rest endures but a smal while.

Ouid.

And I promise you shoting by my iudgement, is ye moost honest pastime of al, and suche one I am sure, of all other, that hindreth learning litle or nothing at all, whatsoeuer you and some other saye, whiche are a gret dele forer against it alwaies than you nede to be.

Phi. Hindereth learninge litle or nothings at all? that were a meruayle to me truelie, and I am sure seing you say so, you haue some reason wherewith you can defende shooting withall, and as for wyl (for the loue that you beare towarde shotinge) I thinke there shall lacke none in you. Therefore feinge we haue so good leysure bothe, and no bodie by to trouble vs: and you so willinge and able to defende it, and I so redy and glad to heare what may be sayde of it I suppose we canne not passe the tyme better ouer, neyther you for ye honestie of your shoting, nor I for myne owne mindfak, than to se what can be sayed with it, or agaynste it, and speciallie in these dayes, whan so many doeth vse it, and euerie man in a maner doeth common of it.

Cor. To speake of shootinge *Philologe*, trulye I woulde I were so able, either as I my selfe am willing or yet as the matter deserueth, but seing with wiffhing we can not haue one nowe worthie, whiche so worthie

a thinge can worthilie praise, and although I had rather haue anie other to do it than my selfe, yet my selfe rather then no other. I wil not fail to saye in it what I can wherin if I saye litle, laye that of my litle habilitie, not of the matter it selfe which deserueth no lyttle thinge to be sayde of it.

Phi. If it deserue no litle thinge to be sayde of it Toxophile, I maruell howe it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto, hath written any thinge of it: wherin you must graunte me, that eyther the matter is noughte, vnworthye, and barren to be written vpon, or els some men are to blame, whiche both loue it and vse it, and yet could neuer finde in theyr heart, to saye one good woorde of it, seinge that very triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to sette them out, as gnattes and nuttes, and many other mo like thinges, wherfore eyther you may honestlie laye verie great fault vpon men bycause they neuer yet prayfed it, or els I may iustlie take awaye no litle thinge from shooting, bycause it neuer yet deserued it.

Tox. Trulye herein Philologe, you take not so muche from it, as you giue to it. For great and commodious thynges are neuer greatlie prayfed, not bycause they be not worthie, but bicause their excellencie nedeth no man hys prayse, hauinge all theyr commendation of them selfe not borrowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayse them selfe, in spekyng much of a litle thyng than that matter whiche they entreat vpon. Great and good thinges be not prayfed. For who euer prayfed Hercules (sayeth the Greke prouerbe). And that no man hitherto hath written any booke of shoting the fault is not to be layed in the thyng whiche was worthie to be written vpon, but of men which were negligent in doying it, and this was the cause therof as I suppose. Menne that vsed shootyng moſte and knewe it best, were not learned: men that were lerned, vsed litle shooting, and were ignorant in the nature of the thyng, and so fewe menne hath bene that hitherto were able to wryte vpon it. Yet howe

longe shotying hath continued, what common wealthes hath moste vsed it, howe honeste a thyng it is for all men, what kynde of liuing so euer they folow, what pleasure and profit commeth of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues and writers, Hebrue, Greke and Latine, hath so plentifullie spoken of it, as of fewe other thinges like. So what shooting is howe many kindes there is of it, what goodnesse is ioyned with it, is tolde: onelye howe it is to be learned and brought to a perfectnesse amonges men, is not toulde.

Phi. Than *Toxophile*, if it be so as you do saye, let vs go forwarde and examin howe plentifullie this is done that you speke, and firste of the inuention of it, than what honestie and profit is in the vse of it, bothe for warre and peace, more than in other pastimes, laste of all howe it ought to be learned amonges men for the encrease of it, which thinge if you do, not onelye I nowe for youre communication but many other mo, when they shall knowe of it, for your labour, and shotying it selfe also (if it coulede speke) for your kyndnesse, wyll can you very moche thanke.

Toxoph. What good thynges men speake of shoting and what good thinges shooting bringes to men as my wit and knowlege will serue me, gladly shall I say my mind. But how the thing is to be learned I will surely leue to some other which bothe for greater experience in it, and also for their lerninge, can set it out better than I.

Phi. Well as for that I knowe both what you can do in shooting by experience, and yat you can also speke well ynough of shooting, for youre learning, but go on with the first part. And I do not doubt, but what my desyre, what your loue toward it, the honestie of shoting, the profite that may come thereby to many other, shall get the seconde parte out of you at the last.

Toxoph. Of the first finders out of shoting, diuers men diuerslye doo wryte. Claudiane the poete sayth that nature gaue example of shotying first, by the Porpentine, which doth shote his prickes, and will hitte any thinge that fightes with it.

Claudianus
in histri.

whereby men learned afterwarde to immitate the same in findyng out both bowe and shaftes.

Plinie referreth it to Schythes the sonne of Iupiter. Better and more noble wryters bringe shoting from a more noble inuentour: as Plato,

Plin. 7. 56.

Calimachus, and Galene from Apollo.

In sympo.

Yet longe afore those dayes do we reade in the bible of shotinge expresse. And

In hym.

Apollo.

Gen. 21.

also if we shall beleue Nicholas de Lyra, Lamech killed Cain with a shafte. So this

Nic. de lyra.

great continuance of shoting doth not a lytle praise shotinge: nor that neither doth not a lytle set it oute, that it is referred to th[e] inuention of Apollo, for the

which poynt shoting is highlye praised of Galene: where he sayth, yat mean craftes

Galen in ex-

hor. ad bo-

nas artes.

be first found out by men or beastes, as

weauing by a spider, and fuche other: but high and commendable sciences by goddes, as shotinge and musicke by Apollo. And thus shotynge for the neces-

sitie of it vsed in Adams dayes, for the nobleneffe of it referred to Apollo, hath not ben onelie commended in all tungen and writers, but also had in greate price, both in the best commune wealthes in warre tyme for the defence of their countrie, and of all degrees of men in peace tyme, bothe for the honestie that is ioyned with it, and the profyte that foloweth of it.

Philol. Well, as concerning the fyndinge oute of it, lytle prayse is gotten to shotinge therby, seinge good wittes maye mooste easelye of all fynde oute a trise-lynge matter. But where as you saye that mooste commune wealthes haue vsed it in warre tyme, and all degrees of men maye verye honestlye vse it in peace tyme: I thynke you can neither shewe by authoritie, nor yet proue by reason.

Coryphæi. The vse of it in warre tyme, I wyll declare hereafter. And firste howe all kindes and sortes of men (what degree foeuer they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe maye honestlye vse it: the example of mooste noble men verye well doeth proue.

Cyaxares the kyng of the Medees, and greate graundefather to Cyrus, kepte a forte of Sythians with him onely for this purpose, to teache his sonne Astyages to shote. Cyrus being a childe was brought vp in shooting, which thinge Xenophon wolde neuer haue made mention on, except it had ben fitte for all princes to haue vsed: seing that Xenophon wrote Cyrus lyfe (as Tullie sayth) not to shewe what Cyrus did, but what all maner of princes both in pastimes and earnest matters ought to do.

HeroJ. in clio.

Xen. in insti
Cyri. 1.

Ad Quint.
Fra. 1. 1.

Darius the first of that name, and king of Perfie shewed plainly howe fit it is for a kinge to loue and vse shotynge, whiche commaunded this sentence to be grauen in his tombe, for a Princelie memorie and prayse.

Darius the King lieth buried here

Strabo. 15.

That in shooting and riding had neuer pere.

Agayne, Domitian the Emperour was so cunning in shooting that he coulde shote betwixte a mans fingers standing as farre of, and neuer hurt him. Comodus also was so excellent, and had so sure a hande in it, that there was nothing within his retche and shote, but he wolde hit it in what place he wolde: as beastes runninge, either in the heed, or in the herte, and neuer mysse, as Herodiane sayeth he sawe him selfe, or els he coulde neuer haue beleued it.

Tranq. Suet.

Herodia. 1.

¶ In dede you praise shooting very wel, in yat you shewe that Domitian and Commodus loue shotinge, suche an vngracious couple I am sure as a man shall not fynde agayne, if he raked all hell for them.

¶ Wel euen as I wyll not commende their ilnesse, so ought not you to dispraise their goodnesse, and in dede, the iudgement of Herodian vpon Comodus is true of them bothe, and that was this: that

beside strength of bodie and good shotinge, they hadde no princelie thing in them, which saying me thinke commendes shoting wonderfullie, callinge it a princelie thinge.

Furthermore howe commendable shotinge is for princes : Themistius the noble philosopher sheweth in a certayne oration made to Theodosius th[e] emperoure, wherein he doeth commend him for. iiii. thinges, that he vsed of a childe. For shotinge, for rydinge of an horse well, and for feates of armes.

Themist.
in ora, 6.

Moreouer, not onelye kinges and emperours haue ben brought vp in shoting, but also the best commune wealthes that euer were, haue made goodlie actes and lawes for it, as the Persians which vnder Cyrus conquered in a maner all the worlde, had a lawe that their children shulde learne thre thinges, onelie from v. yeare oulde vnto. xx. to ryde an horse well, to shote well, to speake truthe alwayes and neuer lye. The Romaines (as Leo the[m]perour in his booke of sleighthes of warre² telleth) had a lawe that euery man shoulde vse shoting in peace tyme, while he was. xl. yere olde and that euerye house shoulde haue a bowe, and. xl. shaftes ready for all nedes, the omittinge of whiche lawe (sayth Leo) amonges the youthe, hath ben the onely occasion why the Romaynes lost a great dele of their empire. But more of this I wil speake when I come to the profite of shoting in warre. If I shuld rehearse the statutes made of noble princes of Englande in parliamentes for the settinge forward of shoting, through this realme, and specially that acte made for shoting the thyrde yere of the reygne of our moost drad foueraygne lorde king Henry the. viii. I could be very long. But these fewe examples specially of so great men and noble commune wealthes, shall stand in steede of many.

Herod. in clio.

Leo de stratag. 20.

¶ **¶**hi. That suche princes and suche commune welthes haue moche regarded shoting, you haue well

declared. But why shotinge ought so of it selfe to be regarded, you haue scarcelye yet proued.

Cor. Examples I graunt out of histories do shew a thing to be so, not proue a thing why it shuld be so. Yet this I suppose, yat neither great mens qualities being commendable be without great authoritie, for other men honestly to folow them: nor yet those great learned men that wrote suche thinges, lacke good reason iustly at al tymes for any other to approue them. Princes beinge children oughte to be brought vp in shoting: both bycause it is an exercise moost holsum, and also a pastyme moost honest: wherin labour prepareth the body to hardnesse, the minde to couragiousnesse, sufferyng neither the one to be marde with tendernesse, nor yet the other to be hurte with ydlenesse: as we reade how Sardanapalus and suche other were, bycause they were not brought vp with outwarde honest paynesful pastymes to be men: but cockerde vp with inwarde noughtie ydle wantonnesse to be women. For how fit labour is for al youth, Iupiter or els Minos amonges them of Grece, and Lycurgus amonges the Lacedemonians, do shewe by their lawes, which neuer ordeyned any thing for ye bringyng vp of youth that was not ioyned with labour. And the labour which is in shoting of al other is best, both bycause it encreaseth strength, and preferueth health moost, beinge not vehement, but moderate, not ouerlaying any one part with werysomnesse, but softly exercisyng euey parte with equalnesse, as the armes and breastes with drawinge, the other parties with going, being not so paynfull for the labour as pleasaunt for the pastyme, which exercise by the iudgement of the best physicions, is most allowable. By shoting also is the mynde honestly exercised where a man alwaies desireth to be best (which is a worde of honestie) and that by the same waye, that vertue it selfe doeth, couetinge to come nighest a moost perfite ende or meane standing betwixte. ii. extremes, escheweing

Cic. 2. Tus.
Qu.

Gal. 2. de
san. tuend.

shorte, or gone, or eitherfyde wide, for the which causes Aristotle him selfe sayth that shoting and vertue is very like. Moreouer that shoting of all other is the moost honest pastyme, and hath leest occasion to noughtinesse ioyned with it. ii. things very playnelye do proue, which be as a man wolde saye, the tutours and ouerseers to shotinge: Daye light and open place where euerye man doeth come, the maynteyners and keepers of shoting, from all vn honest doing. If shotinge faulte at any tyme, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and huddermother: but openly accuseth and bewrayeth it selfe, which is the nexte waye to amendement, as wyse men do saye. And these things I suppose be signes, not of noughtinesse, for any man to disallowe it: but rather verye playne tokens of honestie, for euerye man to prayse it.

Arist. 1. de morib.

The vse of shotinge also in greate mennes chyl dren shall greatlye encrease the loue and vse of shotinge in all the residue of youth. For meane mennes myndes loue to be lyke greate menne, as Plato and Isocrates do saye. And that euerye bodye shoulde learne to shote when they be yonge, defence of the commune wealth, doth require when they be olde, which thing can not be done mightelye when they be men, excepte they learne it perfutelye when they be boyes. And therfore shotinge of all pastymes is moost fitte to be vfed in childhode: bycause it is an imitation of moost earnest thinges to be done in manhode.

Iso. in nic.

Wherefore, shoting is fitte for great mens children, both bycause it strenghtneth the body with holsome labour, and pleaseth the mynde with honest pastime and also encourageth all other youth earnestlye to folowe the same. And these reasons (as I suppose) stirred vp both great men to bring vp their chyl dren in shotinge, and also noble commune wealthes so straitelye to commaunde shoting. Therfore feinge Princes moued by honest occasions, hath in al commune wealthes vfed

shotynge, I suppoſe there is none other degree of men, neither lowe nor hye, learned nor leude, yonge nor ould.

Phil. You ſhal nede wade no further in this matter *Toxophile*, but if you can proue **D** me that ſcholars and men gyuen to learning maye honeſtlye ſhoting, I wyll ſoone graunt you that all other ſortes of men maye not onelye leſfullie, but ought of dutie to uſe it. But I thinke you can not proue but that all theſe examples of ſhotynge brought from ſo longe a tyme, uſed of ſo noble princes, confirmed by ſo wyſe mennes lawes and iudgementes, are ſette afore temporall men, onelye to followe them: whereby they may the better and ſtronglyer defende the commune wealth withall. And nothing belongeth to ſcholars and learned men, which haue an other parte of the commune wealth, quiete and peaceable put to their cure and charge, whoſe ende as it is diuerſe from the other, ſo there is no one waye that leadeth to them both.

Toro. I graunte *Philologe*, that ſcholars and lay men haue diuerſe offices and charges in the commune wealth, whiche requires diuerſe bringing vp in their youth, if they ſhal do them as they ought to do in their age. Yet as temporall men of neceſſitie are compelled to take ſomewhat of learning to do their office the better withal: So ſcholars maye the boldlyer borowe ſomewhat of laye mennes paſtimes, to maynteyne their health in ſtudie withall. And ſurelye of al other thinges ſhoting is neceſſary for both ſortes to learne. Whiche thing, when it hath ben euermore uſed in Englande how moche good it hath done, both ould men and Chronicles doo tell: and alſo our enemies can beare vs recorde. For if it be true (as I haue hearde ſaye) when the kynge of Englande hath ben in Fraunce, the preeſtes at home bicauſe they were archers, haue ben able to ouerthrowe all Scotlande. Agayne ther is an other thing which aboue all other doeth moue me, not onely to loue ſhotynge, to prayſe ſhoting, to exhorte all other to ſhotynge, but alſo to

vſe ſhoting my ſelfe: and that is our kyng his moost royall purpoſe and wyll, whiche in all his ſtatutes generallye doth commaunde men, and with his owne mouthe moost gentlie doeth exhorte men, and by his greate gyftes and rewardes, greatly doth encourage men, and with his moost princelie example very oft doth prouoke all other men to the ſame. But here you wyll come in with temporal man and ſcholer: I tell you plainlye, ſcholer or vnſcholer, yea if I were. xx. ſcholars, I wolde thinke it were my dutie, bothe with exhorteinge men to ſhote, and alſo with ſhoting my ſelfe to helpe to ſet forwarde that thing which the kinge his wiſdome, and his counſell, ſo greatlye labourerh to go forwarde: whiche thing ſurelye they do, bycauſe they knowe it to be in warre, the defence and wal of our countrie, in peace, an exerciſe moost holfome for the body, a paſtime moost honeſt for the mynde, and as I am able to proue my ſelfe, of al other moſte fit and agreeable with learninge and learned men.

¶ Hi. If you can proue this thing ſo playnly, as you ſpeake it ernestly, then wil I, not only thinke as you do, but become a ſhooter and do as you do. But yet beware I ſaye, leſt you for the great loue you bear toward ſhotinge, blindlie iudge of ſhootinge. For loue and al other to ernest affections be not for nought paynted blinde. Take hede (I ſaye) leaſt you prefer ſhootinge afore other paſtimes, as one Balbinus through blinde affection, preferred his louer before all other wemen, although ſhe were deformed with a polypus in her noſe. And although ſhooting maye be mete ſometyme for ſome ſcholars, and ſo forthe: yet the fitteſt alwayes is to be preferred. Therefore if you will nedes graunt ſcholars paſtime and recreation of their mindes, let them vſe (as many of them doth) Muſyke, and playing on instrumentes, thinges moſte ſemely for all ſcholars, and moſte regarded alwayes of Apollo and the Muſes.

Cor. Euen as I can not deny, but ſome muſike is

fit for lerning so I trust you can not chose but graunt, that shoting is fit also, as Calimachus doth signifie in this verse.

Both merie songes and good shooting deliteth Apollo. Cal. hym. 2.

Butas concerning whether of them is moſte fit for learning, and ſcholars to uſe, E
you may ſaye what you will for your pleaſure, this I am ſure that Plato and Ariſtotele bothe, in their bokeſ entreatinge of the common welthe, where they ſhew howe youthe ſhoulde be brought vp in. iiii. thinges, in redinge, in writing, in exerciſe of bodye, and ſinging, do make mention of Muſicke and all kindeſ of it, wherein they both agre, that Muſicke uſed amonges the Lydians is verie ill for yong men, which be ſtudentes for vertue and learning, for a certain nice, ſoſte, and ſmoth ſwetneſſe of it, whiche woulde rather entice them to noughtines, than ſtirre them to honeſtie.

An other kinde of Muſicke inuented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully prayſe, alowing it to be verie fyt for the ſtudie of vertue and learning, becauſe of a manlye, rough and ſtoute ſounde in it, whyche ſhulde encourage yong ſtomakes, to attempte manlye matters. Nowe whether theſe balades and roundes, theſe galiardes, pauanes and daunces, ſo nicelye fingered, ſo ſwetely tuned, be lyker the Muſike of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned iudge. And what ſo euer ye iudge, this I am ſure, yat lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, ſambukes, with other instrumentes euery one, whyche ſtandeth by fine and quicke fingeringe, be condemned of Ariſtotele, as not to be brought in and uſed
Ariſtot. pol. 8. 6.
amonge them, whiche ſtudie for learning and vertue.

Pallas when ſhe had inuented a pipe, caſt it away, not ſo muche ſayeth Ariſtotele, becauſe it deformed her face, but muche rather bycauſe ſuche an Inſtrumente belonged nothing to learnynge. Howe ſuche Inſtrumentes agree with learning, the goodlye agreement betwixt Apollo god of learninge, and Marſyas the

Satyr, defender of piping, doth well declare, where Marfyas had his skine quite pulled ouer his head for his labour.

Muche musike marreth mennes maners, sayth Galen, although some man wil saye that it doth not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quicke a mannes mynde, yet me thinke by reason it doth as hony doth to a mannes stomacke, whiche at the first receyueth it well, but afterwarde it maketh it vnfit, to abyde any good stronge norishynge meate, or els anye holosome sharpe and quicke drinke. And euen so in a maner these Instrumentes make a mannes wit so softe and smoothe so tender and quaisie, that they be lesse able to brooke, strong and tough studie. Wittes be not sharpened, but rather dulled, and made blunte, wyth suche sweete softenesse, euen as good edges be blonter, whiche menne whette vpon softe chalke stones.

And these thinges to be true, not onely Plato Aristotle and Galen, proue by authoritie of reason, but also Herodotus and other writers, Herodotus
in Clio. shewe by playne and euident example, as that of Cyrus, whiche after he had ouercome the Lydians, and taken their kinge Cresus prisoner, yet after by the meane of one Pactyas a verye headie manne amonges the Lydians, they rebelled agaynste Cyrus agayne, then Cyrus had by an by, broughte them to vtter destruction, yf Cresus being in good fauour with Cyrus had not hertelie desyred him, not to reuenge Pactyas faulte, in shedynge theyr blood. But if he would folowe his counsell, he myght brynge to passe, that they shoulde neuer more rebel agaynst hym, And yat was this, to make them weare long kyrtils, to ye foot lyke women, and that euerye one of them shoulde haue a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and sing whyche thinge if you do sayth Cresus (as he dyd in dede) you shall se them quickelye of men, made women. And thus luting and singinge take awaye a manlye stomake, whiche shulde enter and pearce depe and harde studie.

Euen fuche another storie doeth Nymphodorus an olde greke Historiographer write, of one Sefostris kinge of Egypte, whiche storie because it is somewhat longe, and very lyke in al poyntes to the other and also you do well ynoughe remembre it, seyng you read it so late in Sophoclis commentaries, I wyll nowe passe ouer. Therefore
 eyther Aristotle and Plato knowe not what was good and euyl for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyse histories be vainlie set afore vs or els the minstrelsie of lutes, pipes, harpes, and all other that standeth by fuche nice, fine, minikin fingering (fuche as the mooste parte of scholers whom I knowe vse, if they vse any) is farre more fitte for the womannishnesse of it to dwell in the courte among ladies, than for any great thing in it, whiche shoulde helpe good and sad studie, to abide in the vniuersitie amonges scholers. But perhaps you knowe some great goodnesse of fuche musicke and fuche instrumentes, whervnto Plato and Aristotle his brayne coulde neuer attayne, and therfore I will saye no more agaynst it.

Nymphod.

Comment.
in Antig.

¶ Hi. Well Toxophile is it not ynoughe for you to rayle vpon Musike, excepte you mocke me to? but to say the truth I neuer thought my selfe these kindes of musicke fit for learninge, but that whyche I sayde was rather to proue you, than to defende the matter. But yet as I woulde haue this sorte of musicke decaye amonge scholers, euen so do I wysshe from the bottome of my heart, that the laudable custome of Englande to teache chyldren their plainesong and priksong, were not so decayed throughout all the realme as it is. Whiche thing howe profitable it was for all sortes of men, those knewe not so wel than whiche had it most, as they do nowe whiche lacke it moste. And therfore it is true that Teucer sayeth in Sophocles.

*Seldome at all good thinges be knowen how good to be
 Before a man fuche thinges do misse out of his handes.*

Sophocles
in Aiace.

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the

bringing vp of children than musike is, both Gallen proueth by authoritie, and dayly vse teacheth by experience. For euen the little babes lacking the vse of reason, are scarce so well stilled in suckyng theyr mothers pap, as in hearynge theyr mother syng.

Agayne how fit youth is made, by learning to sing, for grammar and other sciences, bothe we dayly do see, and Plutarch learnedly doth proue, and Plato wiselie did alowe, which receyued no scholer in to his schole, that had not learned his songe before.

The godlie vse of praying God, by singinge in the church, nedeth not my prayse, seing it is so prayed through al the scripture, therfore nowe I wil speke nothing of it, rather than I shuld speke to litle of it.

Befyde al these commodities, truly. ii. degrees of menne, which haue the highest offices vnder the king in all this realme, shal greatly lacke the vse of Singinge, preachers and lawiers, bycause they shal not without this, be able to rule their brestes, for euery purpose. For where is no distinction in telling glad thinges and fearfull thinges, gentilnes and cruelnes, softenes and vehementnes, and suche lyke matters, there can be no great perswasion.

For the hearers, as Tullie sayeth, be muche affectioned, as he is that speaketh. At his wordes be they drawen, yf he stande still in one facion, their mindes stande still with hym: If he thundre, they quake: If he chyd, they feare: If he complayne, they sory with hym: and finally, where a matter is spoken, with an apte voyce, for euerye affection, the hearers for the moste parte, are moued as the speaker woulde. But when a man is alwaye in one tune, lyke an Humble bee, or els nowe vp in the top of the church, nowe downe that no manne knoweth where to haue hym: or piping lyke a reede, or roring lyke a bull, as some lawyers do, whiche thinke they do best, when they crye lowdest, these shall neuer greatly mooue, as I haue knowen many wel learned, haue done, bicause theyr voyce was not stayd afore, with learnyng to syng.

For all voyces, great and small, bafe and shril, weke or softe, may be holpen and brought to a good poynt, by learning to syng.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand mooste in nede, can tell best, whereof some I haue knowen, whiche, because they learned not to sing, whan they were boyes, were sayne to take payne in it, whan they were men. If any man shulde heare me Toxophile, that woulde thinke I did but fondly, to suppose that a voice were so necessarie to be loked vpon, I would aske him if he thought not nature a foole, for making such goodly instrumentes in a man, for wel vttring his woordes, or els if the. ii. noble orators Demosthenes and Cicero were not fooles, wherof the one dyd not onelie learne to sing of a man: But also was not ashamed to learne howe he shoulde vtter his foundes aptly of a dogge, the other setteth oute no poynte of rhetorike, so fullie in all his bookes, as howe a man shoulde order his voyce for all kinde of matters.

Therefore feinge men by speaking, differ and be better than beastes, by speaking wel, better than other men, and that singing is an helpe towarde the same as dayly experience doth teache, example of wyse men doth alowe, authoritie of learned men doth approue wherwith the foundation of youth in all good common wealthes alwayes hath bene tempered; surelye if I were one of the parliament house, I woulde not sayle, to put vp a bill for the amendment of this thyng, but because I am lyke to be none this yere, I wil speake no more of it, at this time.

Cor. It were pitie truly *Philologe*, that the thinge shoulde be neglected, but I trust it is not as you say.

Phi. The thing is to true, for of them that come daylye to ye vniuersitie, where one hath learned to sing, vi. hath not. But nowe to oure shotinge Toxophile agayne, wherin I suppose you can not say so muche for shotyng to be fitte for learninge, as you haue spoken agaynst Musicke for the same.

Therefore as concerning Musike, I can be content to

graunt you your mynde: But as for shooting, surely I suppose that you can not perswade me, by no meanes, that a man can be earnest in it, and earnest at his booke to: but rather I thynke that a man with a bowe on his backe, and shaftes vnder hys girdell, is more fit to wayte vpon Robin Hoode, than vpon Apollo or the Muses.

Cor. Ouer earnest shooting surely I will not ouer earnestlye defende, for I euer thought shooting shoulde be a wayter vpon lerning not a mastres ouer learning. Yet this I maruell not a litle at, that ye thinke a man with a bowe on hys backe is more like Robin Hoode seruauant, than Apollose, seing that Apollo him selfe in Alcestis of Euripides, whiche tragidie you red openly not long ago, in a maner glorieth saying this verse.

It is my wont alwaies my bowe with me to beare.

**Euripid. in
Alcest.**

Therefore a learned man ought not to much to be ashamed to beare that some tyme, whiche Apollo god of lerning him selfe was not ashamed always to beare. And bycause ye woulde haue a man wayt vpon the Muses, and not at all medle with shotyng I maruell that you do not remembre howe that the ix. muses their selfe as sone as they were borne, wer put to norse to a lady called Euphemis whiche had a son named Erotus with whome the nine Muses for his excellent shootinge, kepte euer more companie withall, and vsed dayly to shoote together in ye mount Parnafus; and at last it chaunced this Erotus to dye, whose death the Muses lamented greatly, and fell all vpon theyr knees afore Iupiter theyr father, and at theyr request, Erotus for shooting with the Muses in earth was made a signe, and called Sagittarius in heauen. Therefore you se, that if Apollo and the Muses either were examples in dede, or onelye fayned of wise men to be examples of learninge, honest shoting maye well ynough be companion with honest studie.

Phi. Well Toxophile, if you haue no stronger defence of shotinge then Poetes, I feare yf your com-

panions which loue shotinge, hearde you, they wolde thinke you made it but a triflyng and fabling matter, rather then any other man that loueth not shotinge coulde be perswaded by this reason to loue it.

Tora. Euen as I am not so fonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignoraunt, but you knowe what suche noble wittes as the Poetes had, ment by such matters: which oftentimes vnder the couering of a fable, do hyde and wrappe in goodlie preceptes of philosophie, with the true iudgement of thinges. Whiche to be true speciallye in Homer and Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, and Galene playnelye do shewe: when through all their workes (in a maner) they determine all controuerfies, by these. ii. Poetes and suche lyke authorities. Therefore if in this matter I seme to fable, and nothyng proue, I am content you iudge so on me: seinge the same iudgement shall condemne with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galene, whom in that errour I am wel content to folowe. If these oulde examples proue nothing for shoting, what saye you to this? that the best learned and sagest men in this Realme, which be nowe alyue, both loue shoting and vse shoting, as the best learned bisshoppes that be: amonges whome *Philologe*, you your selfe knowe. iiii. or. v. which as in all good learning, vertue and sage-nesse they gyue other men example what thing they shoulde do, euen so by their shoting, they playnely shewe what honest pastime, other men giuen to learning, may honestly vse. That earnest studie must be recreated with honest pastime sufficientlye I haue proued afore, both by reason and authoritie of the best learned men that euer wrote. Then seing pastymes be lesfull, the moost fittest for learning, is to be sought for. A pastyme, saith Aristotle, must be lyke a medicine. Medicines stande by contra- Arist. po. 7.
ries, therefore the nature of studying considered, the fittest pastyme shal soone appeare. In studie euery parte of the body is ydle, which thing causeth grosse and colde humours, to gather togyther and vex

scholers verye moche, the mynde is altogether bent and set on worke. A pastyme then must be had where euery parte of the bodye must be laboured to separate and lessen suche humours withal: the mind must be vnbound, to gather and fetch againe his quicknesse withall. Thus pastymes for the mynde onelye, be nothing fit for studentes, bycause the body which is moost hurte by studie, shulde take away no profyte thereat. This knewe Erasmus verye well, when he was here in Cambrige: which when he had ben sore at his boke (as Garret our bookebynder hath verye ofte tolde me) for lacke of better exercise, wolde take his horse, and ryde about the markette hill, and come agayne. If a scholer shoulde vse bowles or tennies, the labour is to vehement and vnequall, whiche is condemned of Galene: the example very ill for other men, when by so manye actes they be made vnlawfull.

Running, leaping, and coyting be to vile for scholers, and so not fit by Aristotle his iudgement: walking alone into the felde, hath no token of courage in it, a pastyme lyke a simple man Aristot.
pol. 7. 17. which is neither flesh nor fische. Therefore if a man wolde haue a pastyme holesome and equall for euerye parte of the bodye, pleasaunt and full of courage for the mynde, not vile and vnhoneste to gyue ill example to laye men, not kepte in gardynes and corners, not lurking on the nyght and in holes, but euermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill, or els to testifie on it when it doeth well: let him seke chesely of all other for shotyng.

Philol. Suche commune pastymes as men communelye do vse, I wyll not greatlye allowe to be fit for scholers: seinge they maye vse suche exercises verye well (I suppose) as Galene him selfe doth allowe. Gal. de. san
tuend. 2.

Coryph. Those exercises I remembre verye well, for I read them within these two dayes, of the whiche, some be these: to runne vp and downe an hyll, to clyme vp a longe powle, or a rope, and there hang a

while, to holde a man by his armes and waue with his heeles, moche lyke the pastyme that boyes vse in the churche when their master is awaye, to swinge and totter in a belrope : to make a fiste, and stretch out bothe his armes, and so stande lyke a roode. To go on a man his tiptoes, stretching out th[e] one of his armes forward, the other backward, which if he blered out his tunge also, myght be thought to daunce Anticke verie properlye. To tumble ouer and ouer, to toppe ouer taylor : To set backe to backe, and se who can heaue an other his heles higheft, with other moche like : whiche exercises surelye muste nedes be naturall, bycause they be so childishe, and they may be also holesome for the body : but surely as for pleasure to the minde or honestie in the doinge of them, they be as lyke shoting as Yorke is foule Sutton. Therefore to loke on al pastymes and exercises holfome for the bodye, pleasure for the mynde, comlye for euery man to do, honest for all other to loke on, profitable to be sette by of euerye man, worthie to be rebuked of no man, fit for al ages persons and places, onely shoting shal appeare, wherin all these commodities maye be founde.

Phil. To graunt Toxophile, that studentes may at tymes conuenient vse shoting as moost holfome and honest pastyme : yet to do as some do, to shote hourly daylie, wekelye, and in a maner the hole yere, neither I can prayse, nor any wyse man wyl allowe, nor you your selfe can honestlye defende.

Toxoph. Surely Philologe, I am very glad to se you come to that poynte that moost lieth in your stomake, and greueth you and other so moche. But I truste after I haue sayd my mynde in this matter, you shal confesse your selfe that you do rebuke this thing more than ye nede, rather then you shal fynde that any man may spende by anye possibilitie, more tyme in shotinge then he ought. For first and formooft the hole tyme is deuyded into. ii. partes, the daye and the night : whereof the night maye be both occupied in many honest businesse, and also spent in moche vn-

thriftinesse, but in no wise it can be applied to shooting. And here you se that halfe oure tyme, graunted to all other thinges in a maner both good and ill, is at one swappe quite taken away from shoting. Now let vs go forward, and se how moche of halfe this tyme of ours is spent in shoting. The hole yere is deuided into. iiii. partes, Spring tyme, Somer, faule of the lease, and winter wherof the whole winter, for the roughnesse of it, is cleane taken away from shoting: except it be one day amonges. xx. or one yeare amonges. xl. In Somer, for the feruent heate, a man maye faye likewyse: except it be somtyme agaynst night. Now then spring tyme and faule of the lease be those which we abuse in shoting. But if we consider how mutable and chaungeable the wether is in those seasons, and howe that Aristotle him selfe sayth, that mooste parte of rayne fauleth in these two tymes: we shall well perceyue, that where a man wolde shote one daye, he shall be fayne to leaue of. iiii. Now when tyme it selfe graunteth vs but a litle space to shote in, lette vs se if shoting be not hindered amonges all kyndes of men as moche otherwayes. First, yong children vse not, yong men for feare of them whom they be vnder to moche dare not: sage men for other greater businesse, wyll not: aged men for lacke of strengthe, can not: Ryche men for couetousnesse fake, care not: poore men for cost and charge, may not: masters for their housholde keping, hede not: seruantes kept in by their maisters very oft, shall not: craftes men for getting of their lyuing, verry moche leysure haue not: and many there be that oft begynnes, but for vnaptnesse proues not: and moost of all, whiche when they be shoters gyue it ouer and lyst not, so that generallye men euerye where for one or other consideration moche shoting vse not. Therefore these two thinges, straytenesse of tyme, and euery man his trade of liuing, are the causes that so fewe men shotes: as you maye se in this greate towne, where as there be a thousande good mens bodies, yet scarce. x.

yat vseth any great shoting. And those whome you se shote the moost, with how many thinges are the[y] drawen (or rather driuen) from shoting. For first, as it is many a yere or they begyn to be greate shoters, euen so the greate heate of shotinge is gone within a yere or two: as you knowe diuerse Philologe your selfe, which were sometyme the best shoters, and now they be the best studentes.

If a man faule sycke, farewell shoting, maye fortune as long as he lyueth. If he haue a wrentche, or haue taken colde in his arme, he may hang vp his bowe (I warraunt you) for one season. A litle blayne, a small cutte, yea a filie poore worme in his finger, may kepe him from shoting wel ynough. Breaking and ill luck in bowes I wyll passe ouer, with an hundred mo sere thinges, whiche chaunceth euerye daye to them that shote moost, wherof the leest of them may compell a man to leaue shoting. And these thinges be so trewe and euident, that it is impossible either for me craftelye to fayne them, or els for you iustly to deny them. Than seing how many hundred thinges are required altogyther to giue a man leaue to shote, and any one of them denied, a man can not shote: and seing euery one of them maye chaunce, and doth chaunce euery day, I meruayle any wyse man wyll thynke it possible, that any greate tyme can be spent in shoting at all.

Phī. If this be true that you saye Toxophile, and in very dede I can denye nothinge of it, I meruayle greatly how it chaunceth, that those, whiche vse shooting be so moche marked of men, and ofttymes blamed for it, and yat in a maner as moche as those which pleye at cardes and dise. And I shal tell you what I hearde spoken of the same matter. A man no shoter, (not longe agoo) wolde defende playing at cardes and dise, if it were honestly vsed, to be as honest a pastime as youre shotinge: For he layed for him, that a man might pleye for a litle at cardes and dyse, and also a man might shote away all that euer he had. He sayd a payre of cardes

Cardes
and dyse.

cost not past. ii.d. and that they neded not so moche reparation as bowe and shaftes, they wolde neuer hurte a man his hande, nor neuer weare his gere. A man shulde neuer flee a man with shoting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and coude, they woulde neuer forsake a man, he shewed what great varietie there is in them for euerye mans capacitie: if one game were harde, he myght easelye learne an other: if a man haue a good game, there is greate pleasure in it: if he haue an ill game, the payne is shorte, for he maye soone gyue it ouer, and hope for a better: with many other mo reasons. But at the last he concluded, that betwixt playinge and shoting, well vsed or ill vsed, there was no difference: but that there was lesse coste and trouble, and a greate deale more pleasure in playinge, then in shotynge.

Tor. I can not deny, but shoting (as all other good thinges) may be abused. And good thinges ungoodlye vsed, are not good, sayeth an honorable bishoppe in an ernester matter then this is: yet we muste beware that we laye not mennes faultes vpon the thing which is not worthie, for so nothing shulde be good. And as for shoting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I sayde before) which shoulde be rather a token of honestie to prayse it, then any signe of noughtinesse to disallowe it, and that is bycause it is in euerye man his sight, it seketh no corners, it hydeth it not: if there be neuer so litle fault in it, euerye man seeth it, it accuseth it felse. For one houre spent in shoting is more sene and further talked of, then. xx. nightes spent in dyng, euen as a litle white stone is sene amonges. iii. hundred blacke. Of those that blame shotinge and shoters, I wyll saye no more at this tyme but this, that beside that they stoppe and hinder shoting, which the kinges grace wolde haue forwarde, they be not moche vnlyke in this poynt to Wyll Somer the king his foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he neuer so worshipfull a man, and neuer greatly lokes for him whiche lurkes behinde an othor man his backe, that hurte him in dede.

But to him that compared gamning with shoting somewhat wyl I answere, and bycause he went afore me in a comparison : and comparisons sayth learned men, make playne matters : I wyl surely folowe him in the same. Honest thynges (sayeth Plato) be knowne from vnhoneft thinges, by this difference, vnhoneftie hath euer present pleasure in it, hauing neyther good pretence going before, nor yet any profit folowing alter ; which saying descrybeth generallye, bothe the nature of shooting and gamning whiche is good, and which is euyl, verie well.

In phedro.

Gamninge hath ioyned with it, a vayne presente pleasure, but there foloweth, losse of name, losse of goodes, and winning of an hundred gowtie, dropsy diseases, as euery man can tell. Shoting is a peynfull pastime, wherof foloweth health of body quiknes of witte, habilitie to defende oure countrie, as our enemies can beare recorde.

Loth I am to compare these things togyther, and yet I do it not bicause there is any comparison at al betwixte them, but therby a man shal se how good the one is, howe euil the other. For I thinke ther is scarfe so muche contrarioufnes, betwixte hotte and colde, vertue and vice, as is betwixte these. ii. thinges : For what so euer is in the one, the clean contrarye is in the other, as shall playnlye appere, if we consider, bothe their beginnynges, theyr encreasynges, theyr fructes, and theyr endes, whiche I wyl soone rydde ouer.

¶ The fyrste brynger in to the worlde of shootynge, was Apollo, whiche for his wisdome, and great commodities, brought amonges men by him, was esteemed worthie, to be counted as a God in heauen. Difyg surely is a bastarde borne, because it is said to haue. ii. fathers, and yet bothe noughte : The one was an vngracious God, called *Theuth*, which for his noughtines came neuer in other goddes companyes, and therefore Homer doth despise onse to name him,

Pla. in. symp.

Plato
in Phedro.

in all his workes. The other father was a Lydian borne, whiche people for fuche gamnes, and other vnthriftines, as boowlyng and haunting of tauernes, haue bene euer had in most vile reputation, in all storyes and writers.

Herodot. 2
Clio.

The Fosterer vp of shoting is Labour, ye companion of vertue, the maynteyner of honestie, the encrease of health and welthinesse, whiche admytteth nothings in a maner in to his companie, that standeth not, with vertue and honestie, and therefore sayeth the oulde poete Epicharmus very pretelye in Xenophon, that God selleth vertue, and all other good things to men for labour. The Nource

Xen de dict.
et fact. Soc.

of dise and cardes, is werisom Ydlenesse, enemy of vertue, ye drowner of youthe, that tarieth in it, and as Chaufer doth saye verie well in the Parsons tale, the greene path waye to hel, hauinge this thing appropriat vnto it, that where as other vices haue some cloke of honestie, onely ydlenes can neyther do wel, nor yet thinke wel. Agayne, shooting hath two Tutours to looke vpon it, out of whose companie, shooting neuer stirreth, the one called Daye light, ye other Open place, whyche. ii. keepe shooting from euyl companie, and suffers it not to haue to much swinge, but euermore keepes it vnder awe, that it darre do nothyng in the open face of the worlde, but that which is good and honest. Lykewyse, dysinge and cardynge, haue. ii. Tutours, the one named Solitariousenes, whyche lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night an vngratiouse couer of noughtynesse, whyche two thynges be very Inkeepers and receyuers of all noughtynesse and noughtye thinges, and thereto they be in a maner, ordeyned by Nature. For on the nighte tyme and in corners, Spirites and theues, rattes and mise, toodes and oules, nyghtecrowes and poulcattes, foxes and foumerdes, with all other vermine, and noysome beastes, vse mooste styrringe, when in the daye lyght, and in open places whiche be ordeyned of God for honeste thynges, they darre not ones come, whiche tninge Euripides noted verie well, sayenge.

All thinges the night, good thinges the daye doth haunt and vse.

Iphi. in. Tau.

Companions of shoting, be prouidens, good heed giuing, true meatinge, honest comparison, whyche thinges agree with vertue very well. Cardinge and dysinge, haue a sorte of good felowes also, goynge commonly in theyr companye, as blynde Fortune, stumbling chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealyng, crafty conueyaunce, braynlesse brawlynge, false forfwerynge, whiche good feloes wyll sone take a man by the lleue, and cause him take his Inne, some wyth beggerye, some wyth goute and dropsie, some with thefte and robbery, and feldome they wyl leaue a man before he comme eyther to hangyng or els somme other extreme misery. To make an ende, howe shoting by al mennes lawes hath bene allowed, cardyng and dysing by al mennes iudgements condemned, I nede not shewe the matter is so playne.

Therefore, whan the Lydians shall inuent better thinges than Apollo, when slothe and ydlenes shall encrease vertue more than labour, whan the nyghte and lurking corners, giueth lesse occasion to vnthriftinesse, than lyght daye and opennes, than shal shotynge and fuche gamninge, be in summe comparifon lyke. Yet euen as I do not shewe all the goodnes, whiche is in shotynge, whan I proue it standeth by the same thinges that vertue it selfe standeth by, as brought in by God, or Godlyelyke men, fostered by labour, committed to the sauegarde of lyght and opennes, accompanied with prouision and diligens, loued and allowed by euery good mannes sentence. Euen lykewyse do I not open halfe the noughtines whiche is in cardyng and dysing, whan I shewe howe they are borne of a desperate mother, norished in ydlenes, encrefed by licence of nyght and corners, accompanied wyth Fortune, chaunce, deceyte, and craftines: condemned and banished, by all lawes and iudgements.

For if I woulde enter, to descrybe the monstroufenes of it, I shoulde rather wander in it, it is so brode,

than haue any readye passage to the ende of the matter: whose horriblenes is so large, that it passed the eloquence of oure Englyshe Homer, to compasse it: yet because I euer thought hys sayinges to haue as muche authoritie, as eyther Sophocles or Euripides in Greke, therefore gladly do I remembre these verses of hys.

*Hazardry is very mother of lesinges,
And of deceyte, and cursed sweringes,
Blasphemie of Christ, manslaughter, and waste also,
Of catel of tyme, of other thynges mo.*

¶ *Mother of lesinges*) trulye it maye well be called so, if a man consydre howe manye wayes, and how many thinges, he loseth thereby, for firste he loseth his goodes, he loseth his tyme, he loseth quyknes of wyt, and all good lust to other thinges, he loseth honest companye, he loseth his good name and estimation, and at laste, yf he leaue it not, loseth God, and heauen and all: and in stede of these thinges winneth at length, eyther hangyng or hell.

¶ *And of deceyte*) I trowe if I shoulde not lye, there is not halfe so muche craste vsed in no one thinge in the worlde, as in this cursed thyng. What false dise vse they? as dise stopped with quicksiluer and heares, dise of a vauntage, flattes, gourdes to chop and chaunge whan they lyst, to lette the trew dise fall vnder the table, and so take vp the false, and if they be true dise, what shyfte wil they make to set ye one of them with slyding, with cogging, with soyfing, with coytinge as they call it. Howe wyll they vse these shiftes, whan they get a playne man that can no skyll of them? Howe will they go about, yf they perceyue an honest man haue money, which list not playe, to prouoke him to playe? They wyl seke his company, they wil let hym paye nought, yea and as I hearde a man ones saye that he dyd, they wil send for hym to some house, and spend perchaunce, a crown on him, and at last wyll one begin to saye: what my masters, what shall we do? shall euerye man playe his xii. d. whyles an apple roste in the fyre, and than we wyll

drinke and departe : Naye wyl an other saye, as false as he, you can not leaue whan you begyn, and therefore I wyll not playe : but yet yf you wyll gage, that euery man as he hath lost his. xii. d. shall sit downe, I am content, for surely I woulde winne no mannes money here, but euen as much as wolde paye for mye supper. Than speketh the thyrde, to the honest man that thought not to playe, what wylle you playe your. xii. pence if he excuse hym, tush man wyll the other saye, sticke not in honest company for. xii. d. I wyll beare your halfe, and here is my money.

Nowe al this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a looser, yat he wyl not sticke at his. xii. d. but hopeth euer to gette it agayne, whiles perhaps, he loofe all. Than euery one of them setteth his shiftes abroche, some with false dize, some with settinge of dyse, some with hauinge outelandishe syluer coynes guylded, to put away at a tyme for good gold. Than if ther come a thing in controuerisie, muste you be iudged by the table, and than farewell the honest man hys parte, for he is borne downe on euerye syde.

Nowe sir, besyde all these things they haue certayne termes, as a man woulde saye, appropriate to theyr playing : wherby they wyl drawe a mannes money, but paye none, whiche they cal barres, that surely he that knoweth them not, maye soone be debarred of all that euer he hath, afore he lerne them. Yf a playne man lose, as he shall do euer, or els it is a wonder, than the game is so deuilysh, that he can neuer leaue : For vayn hope (which hope sayth Euripides, destroyeth many a man and Citie) dryueth hym on so farre, that he can neuer retourne backe, vntyl he be so lyght, that he nede feare no theues by the waye. Nowe if a simple man happen onse in his lyfe, to win of suche players, than will they eyther entreate him to kepe them company whyles he hath lost all agayne, or els they will vse the moste dyuellyshe fashion of all, For one of the players that

In suppli.

standeth nexte him, shall haue a payre of false disse, and cast them out vpon the bourde, the honest man shall take them and cast them, as he did the other, the thirde shall espye them to be false disse, and shall crye oute, harde, with all the othes vnder God, that he hath falselye wonne theyr moneye, and than there is nothyng but houlde thy throte from my dagger, than euery man layeth hande on the simple man, and taketh all theyr moneye from him, and his owne also, thinking himselfe wel, that he scapeth with his lyfe.

Curfed swerying, blasphemie of Christe.) These halfe verses Chaucer in an other place, more at large doth well set out, and verye liuely expresse, sayinge.

*Ey by goddes precious hert and his nayles
And by the blood of Christe, that is in Hales,
Seuen is my chaunce, and thine is sinke and treye,
Ey goddes armes, if thou falsly playe,
This dagger shall thorough thine herte go
This frute commeth of the beched boones twoo
Forsweringe, Ire, falsnes and Homicide. &c.*

Though these verses be very earnestlie wrytten, yet they do not halfe so grisely sette out the horyblenes of blasphemy, which suche gamners vse, as it is in dede, and as I haue hearde my selfe. For no man can wryte a thing so earnestlye, as whan it is spoken wyth iesture, as learned men you knowe do saye. Howe will you thinke that suche furiousenes wyth woode countenaunces, and brenning eyes, with staring and bragging, with heart redie to leape out of the belly for swelling, can be expressed ye tenth part, to the vttermost. Two men I herd my selfe, whose sayinges be far more grisely, than Chaucers verses. One, whan he had lost his moneye, sware me God, from top to toe with, one breath, that he had lost al his money for lacke of sweringe: The other, losyng his money, and heaping othes upon othes, one in a nothers necke, moost horrible and not spekeable, was rebuked of an honest man whiche stode, by for so doynge, he by and by starynge him in the face, and clappyng his fiste with all

his moneye he had, vpon the boorde, fware me by the flesshe of God, that yf sweryng woulde helpe him but one ace, he woulde not leue one pece of god vnsworne, neyther wythin nor without. The remembraunce of this blasphemy Philologe, doth make me quake at the heart, and therefore I wyll speake no more of it.

And so to conclude wyth suche gamnyng, I thynke there is no vngraciousenes in all thys worlde, that carieth so far from god, as thys faulte doth. And yf there were anye so desperate a persone, that woulde begynne his hell here in earth, I trowe he shoulde not synde hell more lyke hell it selfe, then the lyfe of those men is which dayly haunt and vse suche vngracious games.

Phil. You handle this gere in dede: And I suppose if ye had ben a prentice at suche games, you coulde not haue sayd more of them then you haue done, and by lyke you haue had somewhat to do with them.

Cor. In dede, you may honestlye gather that I hate them greatly, in that I speake agaynst them: not that I haue vsed them greatlye, in that I speake of them. For thynges be knowen dyuerse wayes, as Socrates (you knowe) doeth proue in Alcibiades. And if euery man shulde be that, that he speaketh or wryteth vpon, then shulde Homer haue bene the best capitayne, moost cowarde, hardye, hasty, wyse and woode, sage and simple: And Terence an oulde man and a yong, an honest man and a bawde: with suche lyke. Surelye euerye man ought to praye to God dayly, to kepe them from suche unthriftynesse, and speciallye all the youth of Englande: for what youth doth begynne, a man wyll folowe commonlye, euen to his dyinge daye: whiche thinge Adrastus in Euripides pretelye doth expresse, sayinge.

What thing a man in tender age hath most in vre

That sume to death alwayes to kepe he shal be sure

Therefore in age who greatly longes good frute to moue

In youth he must him selfe aplye good seede to sowe.

Euripides
in suppli.

For the foundation of youth well sette (as Plato doth

saye) the whole bodye of the commune wealth shal floryshe thereafter. If the yonge tree growe croked, when it is ould, a man shal rather breake it than streyght it. And I thinke there is no one thing yat crokes youth more then suche vnlesfull games. Nor let no man say, if they be honestly vsed they do no harme. For how can that pastyme whiche neither exerciseth the bodye with any honest labour, nor yet the minde with any honest thinking, haue any honestie ioyned with it. Nor let no man assure hym selfe that he can vse it honestlye: for if he stande therein, he may fortune haue a faule, the thing is more slipperye then he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) syt on a brante hyll syde, but if he gyue neuer so lytle forward, he can not stoppe though he woulde neuer so fayne, but he must nedes runne heedling, he knoweth not how farre. What honest pretences, vayne pleasure layeth dayly (as it were entisements or baytes, to pull men forward withall) Homer doeth well shewe, by the Sirenes, and Circes. And amonges all in that shyp there was but one Vlysses, and yet he hadde done to as the other dyd, yf a goddesse had not taught hym: And so lykewyse I thinke, they be easye to numbre, whiche passe by playing honestlye, excepte the grace of God faue and kepe them. Therefore they that wyll not go to farre in playing, let them folowe this counsell of the Poete.

Stoppe the begynnings.

Philola. Well, or you go any further, I pray you tell me this one thing: Doo ye speake agaynste meane mennes playinge onely, or agaynste greate mennes playinge to, or put you anye difference betwixte them?

Corophi. If I shulde excuse my selfe herein, and saye that I spake of the one, and not of the other, I feare leaste I shoulde as fondlye excuse my selfe, as a certayne preacher dyd, whome I hearde vpon a tyme speake agaynste manye abuses, (as he sayde) and at last he spake agaynst candelles, and then he fearynge,

least some men woulde haue bene angrie and offended with him, naye sayeth he, you must take me as I meane : I speake not agaynst greate candelles, but agaynst lytle candels, for they be not all one (quoth he) I promyse you : And so euerye man laughed him to scorne.

In dede as for greate men, and greate mennes matters, I lyst not greatlye to meddle. Yet this I woulde wyssh that all great men in Englande had red ouer diligently the Pardoners tale in Chaucer, and there they shoulde perceyue and se, howe moche suche games stand with theyr worshyppe, howe great foeuer they be. What great men do, be it good or yll, meane men communelye loue to followe, as many learned men in many places do faye, and daylye experience doth playnely shewe, in costlye apparrell and other lyke matters.

Therefore, seing that Lordes be lanternes to leade the lyfe of meane men, by their example, eyther to goodnesse or badnesse, to whether foeuer they list : and seinge also they haue libertie to lyfte what they will, I pray God they haue will to list that which is good, and as for their playing, I wyll make an ende with this saying of Chaucer.

*Lordes might finde them other maner of pleye
Honest ynough to driue the daye awaye.*

But to be shorte, the best medicine for all sortes of men both high and lowe, yonge and oulde, to put awaye suche vnlawfull games is by the contrarye, lykewyse as all physicions do alowe in plyfike. So let youthe in steade of suche vnlefull games, whiche stande by ydlenesse, by solitarinesse, and corners, by night and darkenesse, by fortune and chaunce, by crafte and subtiltie, vse suche pastimes as stand by labour : vpon the daye light, in open syght of men, hauynge suche an ende as is come to by conning, rather then by crafte : and so shulde vertue encrease, and vice decaye. For contrarye pastimes, must nedes worke contrary mindes in men, as all other contrary thinges doo.

And thus we se Philologe, that shoting is not onely

the moost holefome exercife for the bodye, the moost honest pafstime for the mynde, and that for all fortes of men: But alfo it is a moost redy medicine, to purge the hole realme of fuche peftilent gamning, wherewith many tymes: it is fore troubled and ill at eafe.

Phi. The more honeftie you haue proued by fhooting *Toxophile*, and the more you haue perfwaded me to loue it, fo moche trulye the forer haue you made me with this laft fentence of yours, wherby you plainly proue that a man maye not greatly vfe it. For if fhooting be a medicine (as you faye that it is) it maye not be vfed very oft, left a man fhould hurt him felfe with all, as medicines moche occupied doo. For Aristotle him felfe fayeth, that medicines be no meate to lyue withall: and thus fhooting by the fame reafon, maye not be moche occupied.

Tax. You playe your oulde wontes Philologe, in dalyng with other mens wittes, not fo moche to proue youre owne matter, as to proue what other men can fay. But where you thinke that I take awaye moche vfe of fhooting, in lykening it to a medicine: by-cause men vfe not medicines euery daye, for fo fhoulde their bodyes be hurt: I rather proue daylye vfe of fhooting therby. For although Aristotle fayeth that fome medicines be no meate to lyue withall, whiche is true: Yet Hippocrates fayth that our Hippo, de
med, purg. daylye meates be medicines, to withftande euyll withall, whiche is as true. For he maketh two kyndes of medicines, one our meate that we vfe dailye, whiche purgeth foftlye and flowlye, and in this fimilitude maye fhooting be called a medicine, wherewith dayly a man maye purge and take away al vnlefull defyres to other vnlefull pafstymes, as I proued before. The other is a quicke purging medicine, and feldomer to be occupied, excepte the matter be greater, and I coulede describe the nature of a quicke medicine, which fhoulde within a whyle purge and plucke oute all the vnthriftie games in the Realme, through which the commune wealth oftentimes is fycke. For not

onely good quicke wittes to learnyng be thereby brought out of frame, and quite marred: But also manly wittes, either to attempt matters of high courage in warre tyme, or els to atcheue matters of weyght and wifdome in peace tyme, be made therby very quasie and faynt. For loke throughoute all histories written in Greke, Latyne, or other language, and you shal neuer finde that realme prosper in the whiche suche ydle pastymes are vsed. As concerning the medicine, although some wolde be miscontent, if they hearde me meddle anye thyng with it: Yet betwixte you and me here alone, I maye the boldlyer saye my fantasie, and the rather bycause I wyll onelye wysh for it, whiche standeth with honestie, not determyne of it which belongeth to authoritie. The medicine is this, that wolde to God and the kynge, all these vnthriftie ydle pastymes, whiche be very bugges, that the Psalme meaneth on, walking on the nyght and in corners, were made felonye, and some of that punysshment ordeyned for them, which is appoynted for the forgers and falsifyers of the kynges coyne. Which punishment is not by me now inuented, but longe agoo, by the mooste noble oratour Demosthenes: which meruayleth greatly that deathe is appoynted for falsifyers and forgers of the coyne, and not as greate punysshmente ordeyned for them, whiche by theyr meanes forges and falsifyes the commune wealthe. And I suppose that there is no one thyng that chaungeth sooner the golden and syluer wyttes of men into copperye and brassye wayes then disyng and suche vnlefull pastymes.

Psalm. 90.

Demost. contra Leptinem.

And this quicke medicine I beleue wolde so throwlye purge them, that the daylye medicines, as shoting and other pastymes ioyned with honest labour shoulde easelyer withstande them.

¶ Phil. The excellent commodities of shotynge in peace tyme, Toxophile, you haue very wel and sufficiently declared. Wherby you haue so perswaded me,

that God wylling hereafter I wyll both loue it the better, and also vse it the oſter. For as moche as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tunge, the noſe, the handes and the feete be no fyttter membres, or instrumentes for the body of a man, then is ſhotinge for the hole bodye of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be beſt and moost neceſſarye, to ſerue, not for one purpoſe onelye, but for manye: as the tunge for ſpeaking and taſting, the noſe for ſmelling, and alſo for auoyding of all excrementes, which faule oute of the heed, the handes for receyuyng of good thinges, and for puttyng of all harmefull thinges, from the bodye. So ſhotinge is an exercyſe of healtie, a paſtyme of honeſt pleaſure, and ſuche one alſo that ſtoppeth or auoydeth all noyſome games gathered and encreaſed by ill rule, as noughtye humours be, whiche hurte and corrupte ſore that parte of the realme, wherin they do remayne.

But now if you can ſhewe but halfe ſo moche proſyte in warre of ſhotynge, as you haue proued pleaſure in peace, then wyll I ſurelye iudge that there be fewe thinges that haue ſo manifolde commodities, and vſes ioyned vnto them as it hath.

Cox. The vpperhande in warre, nexte the goodneſſe of God (of whome al victorie commeth, as ſcripture ſayth) ſtandeth G Mach. 1. 3. cheſely in thre thinges: in the wyſedome of the Prince, in the ſleyghtes and pollicies of the capitaynes, and in the ſtrength and cherefull forwardneſſe of the ſouldyers. A Prince in his herte muſt be full of mercy and peace, a vertue moost pleaſaunt to Chriſt, moost agreeable to mans nature, moost proſytable for ryche and poore.

For than the riche man enioyeth with great pleaſure that which he hath: the poore may obtayne with his labour, that which he lacketh. And although there is nothing worſe then war, wherof it taketh his name, through the which great men be in daunger, meane men without ſuccoure, ryche men in feare, bycauſe they haue ſomewhat: poore men in care,

bycause they haue nothing: And so euery man in thought and miserie: Yet it is a ciuill medicine, where-with a prince maye from the bodye of his commune wealth, put of that daunger whiche maye faule: or elles recouer agayne, whatsoeuer it hath lost. And therefore as Isocrates doth saye, a prince must be a warriour in two thinges, in con-
Ad Nico.
 ninge and knowledge of all sleightes and feates of warre, and in hauing al necessarye habilimentes belonging to the same. Whiche matter to entreate at large, were ouerlonge at this tyme to declare, and ouermuche for my learning to perfourme.

- After the wisdome of the prince, are valiaunt capitaynes moost necessary in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all sleightes and pollicies for all kyndes of warre, which they maye learne. ii. wayes,
- either in daylye folowing and haunting the warres or els bicause wisdome bought with strypes, is many tymes ouercostlye: they maye bestowe sometye in Vegetius, which entreateth suche matters in Latin metelye well, or rather in Polyenus, and Leo the Emperour, which setteth out al pollicies and duties of capitaynes in the Greke tunge very excellentlye. But cheselye I wolde wisse (and if I were of authoritie) I wolde counsel al the yong gentlemen of this realme, neuer to lay out of theyr handes. ii. authours Xenophon in Greke, and Cæsar in Latyn, where in they shulde folowe noble Scipio Africanus, as Tullie doeth saye: In whiche. ii. authours
De. Sen.
 besydes eloquence a thinge mooste necessary of all other, for a captayne, they shulde learne the hole course of warre, whiche those. ii. noble menne dyd not more wyselye wryte for other men to learne, than they dyd manfully exercise in the fyerde, for other men to followe.

The strengthe of war lyeth in the souldier, whose chiefe prayse and vertue, is obedience towarde his captayne, sayth Plato. And Xenophon being a gentyle authour, mooste christianlye doeth saye, euen by these woordes, that
Obedience.
Plat. leg. 12.
Xen. Agef.

that souldyer which firste serueth god, and than obeyeth
hys captayne, may boldelie with all courage, hope to
ouerthrowe his enemy. Agayne, without obedience,
neither valiant man, stout horse, nor goodly
harnes doth any good at al. which obedi- Xen. Hippar.
ence of ye souldier toward his captane, brought the
whole empyre of ye worlde, into the Romanes handes,
and whan it was brought, kepte it lenger, than euer it
was kept in any common welth before or after.

And this to be true, Scipio Africanus, the moste
noble captayne that euer was amonge the Plutarchus.
Romaines, shewed very playnly, what tyme
as he went into Afryke, to destroye Cartage. For he
restinge hys hooſte by the waye in Sicilie, a daye or twoo,
and at a tyme standing with a great man of Sicilie, and
looking on his souldiers how they exercised themselues
in kepyng of araye, and other feates, the gentleman
of Sicilie asked Scipio, wherin lay hys chyefe hope to
ouercome Cartage: He answered, in yonder feloes of
myne whom you se play: And why sayth the other,
bycause sayeth Scipio, that if I commaunded them to
runne in to the toppe of this high castel, and cast
them selues doune backward vpon these rockes, I am
sure they woulde do it.

Sallust also doth write, yat there were mo Romanes
put to death of theyr captaynes for Sal. in. Cat.
ſetting on theyr enemyes before they had
licence, than were for running away out of the fylde,
before they had foughten. These two examples do
proue, that amonges the Romaines, the obedience of
the souldyer was wonderfull great, and the seueritie of
the Captaynes, to se the same kepte wonderfull straye.
For they wel perceyued that an hoſte full of obe-
dyence, falleth as seldome into the handes of theyr
enemies as that bodye fawleth into Jeoperdye, the
whiche is ruled by reason. Reason and Rulers beyng
lyke in offyce, (for the one ruleth the body of man, the
other ruleth the bodye of the common wealthe) ought
to be lyke of condicions, and oughte to be obeyed in

all maner of matters. Obedience is nourished by feare and loue, Feare is kept in by true iustice and equitie, Loue is gotten by wisdom, ioyned with liberalitie: For where a souldyer seeth ryghteousnesse so rule, that a man can neyther do wronge nor yet take wronge, and that his capitayne for his wysedome, can maintayne hym, and for his liberalitie will maintayne him, he must nedes both loue him and feare him, of the whiche procedeth true and vnfaigned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the nexte good poynt in a souldier, is to haue and to handle his weapon wel, whereof the one must be at the appoyntment of the captayne, the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the souldier: yet of al weapons the best is, as Euripides doth say, wherewith with leest

In Herc. fu.

daunger of our self we maye hurt our enemye moost. And that is (as I suppose) artillarie. Artillarie now a dayes is taken for. ii. thinges: Gunnes and Bowes, which how moch they do in war, both daily experience doeth teache, and also Peter Nannius a learned man of Louayn, in a certayne dialogue³ doth very well set out, wherein this is most notable, that when he hath shewed excedyng commodities of both, and some discommodities of gunnes, as infinite cost and charge, comberfome carriage: and yf they be greate, the vncertayne leuelyng, the peryll of them that stand by them, the esyer auoydyng by them that stande far of: and yf they be lytle, the lesse both feare and ieoperdy is in them, besyde all contrary wether and wynde, whiche hyndereth them not a lytle: yet of all shotyng he cannot reherse one discommoditie.

¶ **¶**hi. That I meruayle greatly at, seing Nannius is so well learned, and so exercised in the authours of both the tungen: for I my selfe do remembre that shotyng in war is but smally prayfed, and that of diuers captaynes in dyuers authors. For first in Euripides (whom you so highly praise) and very well, for Tullie thynketh euerye verse in him to be an authoritie, what I praye you, doth Lycus that ouercame Thebes, say as con-

cernyng shoting? whose words as farre as I remembre, be these, or not muche vnlyke.

*What prayse hath he at al, whiche neuer durst abide,
The dint of a speares poynt thrust against his side
Nor neuer bouldlie buckeler bare yet in his lefte hande
Face to face his enemies bront stiffelie to wythstande,
But alwaye trusteth to a bowe and to a fethered sticke
Harnes cuer most fit for him which to fle is quicke,
Bowe and shajie is Armour melest for a cowarde
Which dare not ones abide the bronte of battel sharpe and harde.*

Eurip. in
Herc. furent.

*But he a man of manhode most is by mine assent
Which with harte and corage bouldie, fullie hath him bent,
His enemies looke in euery floure floutelie to a bide,
Face to face, and sole to fote, tide what may be tide.*

Agayne Teucer the best Archer amonges all the Grecians, in Sophocles is called of Menelaus, a boweman, and a shooter as in villaynie and reproche, to be a thing of no price in warre. Moreouer Pandarus the best shooter in the worlde, whome Apollo hym selfe taught to shoote, bothe he and his shotynge is quyte condemned in Homer, in so much that Homer (which vnder a made fable doth alwayes hyde hys iudgement of thinges) doeth make Pandarus him selfe crye out of shooting, and cast his bowe awaye, and take him to a speare, makyng a vowe that if euer he came home, he woulde breake his shaftes, and burne his bowe, lamentyng greatly, that he was so sonde to leaue at home his horse and charyot wyth other weapons, for the trust yat he had in his bowe. Homer signifieng thereby, that men shoulde leue shoting out of warre, and take them to other wepons more fite and able for the same, and I trowe Pandarus woordes be muche what after thys sorte.

*Ill chaunce ill lucke me hyther broughte
Ill fortune me that daye befell,
Whan first my bowe fro the pynne I roughte
For Hector's sake, the Grekes to quell.*

*But yf that God so for me shap
That home agayne I maye ones come,
Let me neuer inioye that hap,
Nor euer twyse looke on the sonne,
If bowe and shaftes I do not burne
Whyche nowe so euell doth serue my turne.*

But to let passe al Poetes, what can be forer said agaynst any thing, than the iudgement of Cyrus is agaynst shotynge, whiche doth cause his Persians beyng the best shooters to laye awaye theyr bowes and take them to sweardes and buckelers, speares and dartes, and other lyke hande weapons. The which thing Xenophon so wyse a philosopher, so experte a captayne in warre hym selfe, woulde neuer haue written, and specially in that booke wherein he purposed to shewe, as Tullie sayeth in dede, not the true historie, but the example of a perfite wise prince and common welthe, excepte that iudgement of chaungyng Artillerie, in to other wepons, he had alwayes thought best to be folowed, in all warre. Whose counsell the Parthians dyd folowe, whan they chased Antonie ouer the mountaines of Media, whiche being the best shoters of the worlde, lefte theyr bowes, and toke them to speares and morispykes.

Xen. Cyri.
Inst. 6.

Epist. 1. ad
Q. Fra.

Plutarch
M. Ant.

And these fewe examples I trowe, of the best shooters, do well proue that the best shotinge is not the best thinge as you call it in warre.

Cor. As concernyng your first example, taken oute of Euripides, I maruayle you wyl bring it for ye dispraise of shotyng, feyng Euripides doth make those verses, not bicause he thinketh them true, but bicause he thinketh them fit for the person that spake them. For in dede his true iudgement of shoting, he doth expresse by and by after in the oration of the noble captaine Amphytro agaynst Lycus, wherein a man maye doubt, whether he hath more eloquentlye confuted Lycus sayenge, or more worthelye sette oute the prayse of shootynge.

And as I am aduised, his woordes be muche hereafter
as I shall saye.

Against the wittie giste of shotinge in a bowe. Eurip. in.
Fonde and leud woordes thou leudlie doest out throwe, Herc. fur

*Whiche, if thou wilt heare of me a woorde or twayne
Quicklie thou mayst learne howe fondlie thou doest blame,*

*Firſte he that with his harneis him ſelfe doth wal about,
That ſcarce is leſte one hole through which he may pepe out,
Such bondmen to their harneis to fight are nothinge mete
But ſoneſt of al other are troden vnder ſete.*

*Yf he be ſtronge, his ſilouues ſaynt, in whome he putteth his truſt,
So loded with his harneis muſt nedes lie in the duſt,
Nor yet from death he cannot ſtarte, if ones his weapon breke,
Howe ſtoute, howe ſtrong, howe great, howe longe,
ſo euer be ſuche a freke.*

*But who ſo euer can handle a bowe ſturdie ſiſſe and ſtronge
Wherwith lyke haylemanie ſhaſtes he ſhootes into the thickeſt thronge:
This profite he takes, that ſtanding a far his enemye he maye ſpill
Whan he and his full ſafe ſhall ſtande out of all daunger and ill.
And this in War is wiſedome moſte, which workes our enemyes woo.
Whan we ſhal be far from all feare and icoperdie of our ſoo.*

Secondarily euen as I do not greatlye regarde what
Menelaus doth ſay in Sophocles to Teucer, bycauſe
he ſpake it bothe in anger, and alſo to hym that he
hated, euen ſo doo I remembre very well in Homer,
that when Hector and the Troians woulde haue ſet
fyre on the greke ſhippes, Teucer with his bowe made
them recule backe agayne, when Menelaus Iliad. 8.
tooke hym to his feete, and ranne awaye.

Thirdlye as concerning Pandarus, Homer doth not
diſpraye the noble gyfte of ſhotynge, but therby euery
man is taught, that whatſoeuer, and how good ſoeuer a
weapon a man doth uſe in war, yf he be hym Hom. Ill. 8.
ſelfe a couetouſe wretche, a foole wythoute
counſell, a peacebreaker as Pandarus was, at laſt he
ſhall through the puniſhment of God fall into his
enemyes handes, as Pandarus dydde, whome Diomedes
through the helpe of Minerua miſerablye ſlue.

And bycauſe you make mencion of Homer, and

Troye matters, what can be more prayse for anye thyng, I praye you, than that is for shootyng, that Troye coulede neuer be destroyed without the helpe of Hercules shaftes, whiche thinge doeth signifie, that although al the worlde were gathered in an army togyther, yet without shotinge they can neuer come to theyr purpose, as Vlysses in Sophocles very plainlye doth saye vnto Pyrrhus, as concernyng Hercules shaftes to be caried vnto Troye.

Nor you without them, nor without you they do ought. Soph. phil.

Fourthlye where as Cyrus dyd chaunge parte of his bowemen, wherof he had plentie, into other menne of warre, wherof he lacked, I will not greatlye dispute whether Cyrus did well in that poynt in those dayes or no, bycause it is not playne in Xenophon howe strong shooters the Persians were, what bowes they had, what shaftes and heades they occupied, what kynde of warre theyr enemies vsed.

Xen. Cyri.
Instit. 6.

But trulye as for the Parthians, it is playne, in Plutarche, that in chaungyng theyr bowes into speares, they brought theyr selfe into vtter destruction. For when they had chased the Romaines many a myle, through reason of theyr bowes, at the last the Romaines ashamed of their fleing, and remembrynge theyr owle noblenesse and courage, ymagined thys waye, that they woulde kneele downe on theyr knees, and so couer all theyr body wyth theyr shyldes and targattes, that the Parthians shaftes might slyde ouer them, and do them no harme, which thing when the Parthians perceyued, thinking that ye Romaines wer forweryed with laboure, watche, and hungre: they layed downe their bowes, and toke speres in their handes, and so ranne vpon them: but the Romaines perceyuinge them without their bowes, rose vp manfully, and slewe them euery mother son, saue a fewe that saued them selues with runnyng awaye. And herein our archers of Englande far passe the Parthians, which for suche a purpose, when they

Plu. in. M.
Anton.

shall come to hande strokes, hath euer redy, eyther at his backe hangyng, or els in his next felowes hande a leaden maule, or fuche lyke weapon, to beate downe his enemyes withall.

Phi. Well *Toxophile*, seing that those examples whiche I had thought to haue ben cleane agaynst shoting, you haue thus turned to the hygh prayse of shotinge: and all this prayse that you haue now sayd on it, is rather come in by me than sought for of you: let me heare I praye you now, those examples whiche you haue marked of shotyng your selfe: whereby you are, and thinke to persuaide other, yat shoting is so good in warre.

For. Examples surely I haue marked very many: from the begynning of tyme had in memorie of wrytyng, throughout all commune wealthes, and Empires of the worlde: wherof the mooste part I wyll passe ouer, lest I shoulde be tedious: yet some I wyll touche, bycause they be notable, bothe for me to tell and you to heare.

And bycause the storye of the Iewes is for the tyme moost auncient, for the truthe mooste credible, it shalbe moost fitte to begynne with them. And although I knowe that God is the onely gyuer of victorie, and not the weapons, for all strength and victorie (sayth Iudas Machabeus) cometh from heauen: Yet surely strong weapons be the instrumentes

Mach. 2. 3.

wherwith god doth ouercome yat parte, which he wil haue ouerthrown. For God

D

is well pleased wyth wyse and wittie feates of warre: As in metinge of enemies, for truse takyng, to haue priuylie in a bushment harneist men layd

Mach. 2. 14.

for feare of treason, as Iudas Machabeus dyd wyth Nicanor Demetrius capitayne: And to haue engines of warre to beate downe cities with all: and to haue scout watche amonges our enemyes to knowe their counfayles, as the noble captaine

Mach. 1. 12.

Ionathas brother to Iudas Machabeus did in the countrie of Amathie against the mighty hoste of Demetrius. And besyde al this, god is pleased to haue

goodly tombes for them which do noble feates in warre, and to haue their ymages made, and also their cote Armour to be set aboute theyr tombes, to their perpetual laude and memorie: as the Mach. 1. 13.
 valiaunt capitayne Symon, dyd cause to be made for his brethren Iudas Machabeus and Ionathas, when they were slayne of the Gentiles. And thus of what authoritie feates of warre, and strong weapons be, shortly and playnelye we maye learne: But amonges the Iewes as I began to tell, I am sure there was nothing so occupied, or dydde so moche good as bowes dyd: insomuche that when the Iewes had any great vpperhande ouer the Gentiles, the fyrste thing alwayes that the captayne dyd, was to exhort the people to gyue all the thanks to God for the victorie, and not to theyr bowes, wherwith they had slayne their enemies: as it is playne that the noble Josue 23.
 Josue dyd after so many kynges thrust downe by hym.

God, when he promyseth helpe to the Jewes, he vseth no kynde of speaking so moche as this, that he wyll bende his bowe, and die his shaftes in the Gentiles blood: whereby it is manifest, that Deutero. 32
 eyther God wyll make the Iewes shoote stronge shotes to ouerthrowe their enemies: or at leeste that shotinge is a wonderful mightie thing in warre, whervnto ye hygh power of God is lykened. Dauid in the Psalmes calleth bowes the vessels of death, a bytter Psal. 7. 63.
 thinge, and in an other place a myghty 75.
 power, and other wayes mo, which I wyll let passe, bycause euerye man readeth them daylye: But yet one place of scripture I must nedes remembre, which is more notable for ye prayse of shoting, then any yat euer I red in any other storie, and that is, when Saul was slayne of ye Philistians Regum 1. 31.
 being mightie bowmen, and Ionathas his sonne with him, that was so good a shoter, as ye scripture sayth, that he neuer shot shafte in vayne, and yat the kyngdome after Saules deathe came vnto Dauid: the first statute and lawe that euer Dauid

made after he was king, was this, that al
 ye children of Israel shulde learne to shote,
 according to a lawe made many a daye before yat tyme
 for the setting out of shoting as it is written (sayeth
 Scripture) *in libro Iustorum*, whiche booke we haue not
 nowe: And thus we se plainelye what greate vse of
 shoting, and what prouision euen from the begynnyng
 of the worlde for shotyng, was amonge the Iewes.

Regum. 2. 1.

The Ethiopians which inhabite the furthest part
 South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: in
 fomoche that when Cambyfes king of
 Persie being in Egypt, sent certayne am-
 bassadours into Ethiope to the kynge there, with many
 great gyftes: the king of Ethiop perceyuinge them
 to be espyes, toke them vp sharply, and blamed
 Cambyfes greatly for such vniust enterprises: but
 after that he had princely entertayned them, he sent
 for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then vn-
 bent it agayne, and sayde vnto the ambassadours, you shall
 commende me to Cambyfes, and gyue him this bowe
 fro me, and byd him when any Persian can shote in
 this bowe, let him set vpon the Ethiopians: In the
 meane whyle let hym gyue thanks vnto God, whiche
 doth not put in the Ethiopians mynde to conquere
 any other mans lande. This bowe, when it came
 amonge the Persians, neuer one man in suche an in-
 finite host (as Herodotus doth saye) could styrre the
 stryng, saue onely Smerdis the brother of Cambyfes,
 whiche styrred it two fingers, and no further: for the
 which act Cambyfes had suche enuy at him, that he
 afterward slewe him: as doth appeare in the storye.

Herodotus in
Thalia.

Sesostris the moost mightie king that euer was in
 Egypt, ouercame a great parte of the worlde, and that
 by archers: he subdued the Arabians, the Iues, the
 Assyrians: he went farther into Scythia then any man
 els: he ouercame Thracia, euen to the borders of
 Germanie. And in token how he ouercame al men
 he set vp in many places great ymages to his owne
 lykenesse, hauynge in the one hande a bowe, in the

other a sharpe heeded shafte: that men myght knowe, what weapon is hooste vfed, in conquering so manye people.

Herod. in Euterpe.

Diod. Sic. 2.

Cyrus, counted as a god amonges the Gentyles, for his noblenesse and felicitie in warre: yet at the last when he set vpon the Massagetanes (which people neuer went without their bowe nor their quiuer, nether in warre nor peace) he and all his were slayne, and that by shotyng, as appeareth in the storye.

Herod. in clio.

Polycrates the prince of Samos (a very little yle) was lorde ouer all the Greke sees, and withstode the power of the Persians, onely by the helpe of a thousande archers.

Herod. in thalia.

The people of Scythia, of all other men loued, and vfed moost shotyng, the hole rycheffe and househoulde stuffe of a man in Scythia, was a yocke of oxen, a plough, his nagge and his dogge, his bowe and his quiuer: which quiuer was couered with the skynne of a man, whiche he toke or slewe fyrste in battayle. The Scythians to be inuincible by reason of their shotyng, the greate voyages of so manye noble conquerours spent in that countrie in vayne, doeth well proue: But specially that of Darius the myghtie kyng of Persie, which when he had taryed there a great space, and done no good, but had forweryed his hoste with trauayle and hunger: At last the men of Scythia sent an ambassadour with. iiii.

Herod. in Melpomen.

gyftes: a byrde, a frogge, a mouse, and. v. shaftes. Darius meruaylyng at the straungenesse of the gyftes, asked the messenger what they signified: the messenger answered, that he had no further commaundement, but onely to delyuer his gyftes, and retourne agayne with all spede: but I am sure (sayeth he) you Persians for your great wysdome, can soone bould out what they meane. When the messenger was gone, euery man began to say his verdict. Darius Iudgment was this, that ye Scythians gaue ouer into the Persians handes, their lyues, their hole power, both by lande and see, signifyinge by the mouse the

earthe, by the frogge the water, in which they both liue, by ye birde their lyues which lyue in the ayer, by the shaft their hole power and Empire, that was maynteyned alwayes by shotinge. Gobryas a noble and wyse captayne amonges the Persians, was of a cleane contrary minde, saying, nay not so, but the Sythians meane thus by their gyftes, that except we get vs wynges, and flye into the ayer lyke birdes, or run into ye holes of the earthe lyke myse, or els lye lurking in fennes and marishes lyke frogges, we shall neuer returne home agayne, before we be vtterly vndone with their shaftes: which sentence sanke so fore into their hertes, yat Darius with all spede possible, brake vp his campe, and gat hym selfe homewarde. Yet howe moche the Persians them selues set by shotinge, wherby they encreased their empire so moche, doth appeare by. iii. manifest reasons: firste that they brought vppre theyr youth in the schole of shoting, vnto. xx. yere of age, as dyuerse noble Greke authours do faye.

Herod. in clid.

Xenoph. in cyrop.

Strab. 11.

Agayne, bycause the noble kyng Darius thought hym selfe to be prayfed by nothyng so moch, as to be counted a good shoter, as doth appeare by his sepulchre, wherin he caused to be written this sentence.

*Darius the King lieth buried here
That in shoting and riding had neuer pere.*

Strab. 15.

Thirdlye the coyne of the Persians, both golde and siluer had the Armes of Persie vpon it, as is customably vsed in other realmes, and that was bow and arowes: by the which feate they declared, how moch they set by them.

Plutarch. in Agefila.

The Grecians also, but specially the noble Atheniensis, had all their strength lyinge in Artillarie: and for yat purpose the citie of Athens had a thousand. men which were onely archers, in dayly wages, to watche and kepe the citie from al ieoperdie and sodein daunger: which archers also shuld cary to prifon and warde any misdoer at ye commaunde-

Suidas.

ment of the hygh officers, as playnlye doth appeare in Plato. And surely the bowmen of Athens did wonderful feates in many battels, but specially when Demosthenes the valiaunt captayne slue and toke prifoners all the Lacedemonians besyde ye citie of Pylos, where Nestor somtyme was lord: the shaftes went so thicke that day (sayth Thucydides) that no man could se theyr enemies. A Lacedemonian taken prisoner, was asked of one at Athens, whether they were floute fellows that were slayne or no, of the Lacedemonians: he answered nothing els but this: make moche of those shaftes of -youres, for they knowe neyther floute nor vnfloute: meanyng thereby, that no man (though he were neuer so flout) came in their walke, that escaped without death.

Plato in pro-
tagora.

Thucyd. 4.

Herodotus descrybing the mighty hoost of Xerxes especially doth marke out, what bowes and shaftes they vsed, signifying yat therin lay their chiefe strength. And at the same tyme Atossa, mother of Xerxes, wyfe to Darius, and daughter of Cyrus, doeth enquire (as Aeschylus sheweth in a Tragedie) of a certayne messenger that came from Xerxes hoste, what stronge and fearfull bowes the Grecians vsed: wherby it is playne, that Artillarie was the thing, wherin both Europe and Asia at those dayes trusted vppon.

Herod. in
Polym.

Esch. in Perf.

The best parte of Alexanders hoste were archers as playnelye doth appeare in Arianus, and other yat wrote his life: and those so stronge archers, that they onely, sundrye tymes ouercame their enemies, afore any other neded to fyght: as was sene in the battayl which Nearchus one of Alexanders capitaynes had besyde the ryuer of Thomeron. And therefore as concerning all these kyngdomes and commune wealthes, I maye conclude with this sentence of Plinie, whose wordes be, as I suppose thus: If any man woulde remembre the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, the men of Inde,

Arianus. 8.

Plin. lib. 16.
Cap. 36.

of Scythia, so many people in ye east of the Sarmatians, and all the kyngdomes of the Parthians, he shall well perceyue halfe the parte of the worlde, to lyue in subiection, ouercome by the myght and power of shotinge.

In the commune wealth of Rome, which exceded all other in vertue, noblenesse, and dominion litle mention is made of shoting, not bycause it was litle vsed amonges them, but rather bycause it was bothe so necessarye and commune, that it was thought a thing not necessarye or requyred of anye man to be spoken vpon, as if a man shoulde describe a greate feast, he woulde not ones name bread, although it be mooste common and necessary for all: but surely yf a feast beyng neuer so great, lacked bread, or had fewsty and noughty bread, all the other daynties shulde be vnsauery, and litle regarded, and than woulde men talke of the commodity of bread, whan they lacke it, that would not ones name it afore, whan they had it: And euen so dyd the Romaynes as concernynge shootyng. Seldome is shootinge named, and yea it dyd the mooste good in warre, as didde appere, verry playnlye in that battell, whiche Scipio Aphricanus had with the Numantines in Spayne, whome he coulde neuer ouercome, before he sette bowemen amonges his horse men, by whose myght they were clean vanquished.

Agayne, Tiberius fyghtynge with Armenius and Inguiomerus princis of Germanie, had one wing of archers on horseback, an other of archers on foot, by whose might the Germanes were slayne downe ryghte, and so scattered and beate oute of the felde, that the chafe lasted. x. myles, the Germanes clame vp in to trees for feare, but the Romanes dyd fetch them downe with theyr shaftes as they had ben birdes, in whyche battell the Romaynes lost fewe or none, as doth appeare in the historie.

But as I began to faye, the Romaynes dyd not so muche prayse the goodnesse of shootinge, whan they had it, as they dyd lament the lacke of it, whan they

Cor, Tac. 2

wanted it, as Leo the. v. the noble Emperour doth playnly testifie in fundrie places in those booke whiche he wrote in Greke, of the fleyghtes and pollicies of warre.²

Phil. Surelie of that booke I haue not heard before, and howe came you to the syghte of it.

Tor. The booke is rare trulie, but this laste yeare when master Cheke translated the sayd booke out of greke in to Latin, to ye kinges maiestie, he of his gentlenesse, wolde haue me very ofte in hys chamber, and for the familiaritie that I had wyth hym, more than manye other, woulde suffer me to reade of it, whan I woulde, the whiche thinge to do, surelye I was very desirous and glad, because of the excellent handelynge of all thynges, that euer he taketh in hande. And verily *Philologe*, as ofte as I remembre the departynge of that man from the vniuersitie, (whiche thinge I do not feldome) so ofte do I well perceyue our moste helpe and futheraunce to learnynge, to haue gon awaye with him. For by ye great commoditie yat we toke in hearyng hym reade priuatly in his chambre, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feele the great discommoditie in not hearynge of hym, Aristotile and Demosthenes, whiche. ii. authours with all diligence last of all he thought to haue redde vnto us. And when I consider howe manye men he succoured with his helpe, and hys ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were prouoked and styrred vp, by his councell and daylye example, howe they shulde come to learning, surely I perceyue that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth that there is nothyng better in any common wealthe, than that there shoulde be alwayes one or other, excellent passyng man, whose lyfe and vertue, shoulde plucke forward the will, diligence, laboure and hope of all other, that folowyng his footesteppes, they myght comme to the same ende, wherevnto labour, lerning and vertue, had conueied him before. The great hinderance of learning, in lackinge thys man greatly I shulde lament, if this dif-

commoditie of oures, were not ioyned with the commoditie and health, of ye hole realme, for which purpose, our noble king full of wyfedom hath called vp this excellent man full of learnynge, to teache noble prince Edward, an office ful of hope, comforte and folace to al true hertes of England: For whome al England dayly doth praye, yat he passing his Tutour in learnynge and knowledge folowynge his father in wisedome and felicitie, accordyng to yat example. which is fet afore his eyes, may so fet out and mayntayne goddes worde to the abolishment of al papistry, the confusion of al heresie, that thereby he feared of his ennemies, loued of al his subiectes, maye bring to his own glory, immortal fame and memorie, to this realme, welthe, honour, and felicitie, to true and vn-fayned religion perpetuall peace, concorde, and vnitie.

Cor. Tac. 2.

But to retourne to shootynge agayne, what Leo sayeth of shootynge amonges the Romaines, hys woordes, be so muche for the prayse of shootynge, and the booke also so rare to be gotten, that I learned the places by harte, whyche be as I suppose, euen thus. Fyrste in his sixte booke, as concerning what harneys is best: Lette all the youth of Rome be compelled to vse shootyng, eyther more or lesse, and alwayes to bear theyr bowe and theyr quiuer aboute with them, untill they be. xl. yeares oulde.

For sithens shootynge was neglected and decayed among the Romaines, many a battayle and fyelde hath been loste. Agayne in the II. booke and. 50. chapter, (I call that by bookes and chapters, whyche the greke booke deuideth by chapters and paragraphes) Let your souldyers haue theyr weapons wel appoynted and trimmed, but aboue all other thynges regarde moste shootinge, and therefore lette men when there is no warre, vse shootynge at home: For the leauynge of, onely of shotynge, hath broughte in ruine and decaye, the hole Empire of Rome. Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne, hys capityne by these wordes: Arme your hoste as I

Leo. II. 50.

haue appoynted you, but specially with
 bowe and arrowes plentie. For shootynge Leo. 18. 21.
 is a thinge of muche myghte and power in warre,
 and chyevely agaynst the Sarracenes and Turkes, whiche
 people hath all their hope of victorie in theyr bowe
 and shaftes: Besydes all this, in an other place, he
 wryteth thus to his Captayne: Artillerie is easie to be
 prepared, and in time of great nede, a thinge moste
 profitable, therefore we straytlye commaunde you to
 make proclamation to al men vnder our dominion
 which be eyther in war or peace, to all Leo. 20. 79.
 cities, borowes and townes, and fynally to
 all maner of men, that euerye seare persone haue bowe
 and shaftes of his owne, and euerye house besyde this,
 to haue a standing bearyng bowe, and. xl. shaftes
 for all nedes, and that they exercise them selues in
 holtes, hilles, and dales, playnes and wodes, for all
 maner of chaunces in warre.

Howe muche shooting was vsed among the olde
 Romanes and what meanes noble captaynes and Em-
 perours made, to haue it encrease amonge them, and
 what hurte came by the decaye of it, these wordes, of
 Leo the emperour, which in a maner I haue reherfed
 woorde for woorde, playnly doth declare. And yet
 shotynge, although they set neuer so muche by it, was
 neuer so good than, as it is nowe in Englande, whiche
 thing to be true, is very probable, in that Leo doth
 saye, that he woulde haue his souldiers take of theyr
 arrowe heads, and one shote at an other, for theyr
 exercise, whiche playe yf Englyshe archers vsed, I
 thinke they shoulde fynde smal play and Leo. 7. 18.
 lesse pleasure in it at all.

The great vpperhande maynteyned alwayes in warre
 by artillery, doeth appeare verry playnlye by this reason
 also, that whan the spanyardes, franchmen, and ger-
 manes, grekes, macedonians, and egyptians, eche contry
 vsing one singuler weapon, for whyche they were greatlye
 feared in warre, as the Spanyarde *Lancea*, the Franche-
 man *Gesa*, the German *Framea*, the Grecian *Machera*,

the Macedonian *Sarissa*, yet coulede they not escape, but be subiectes to the Empire of Rome, whan the Pertians hauyng all theyr hope in artillerie, gaue no place to them, but ouercame the Romanes, ofter than the Romaynes them, and kepte battel with them, many an hundred yeare, and slue the ryche Crassus and hys son wyth many a stoute Romayne more, with their bowes. They draue Marcus Antonius ouer the hylles of Media in Armenia, to his great shame and reproch. They slue Iulianus Apostata, and Antonius Caracalla, they helde in perpetual pryson, ye most noble emperour Valerian in despite of all the Romaynes and many other princes, whiche wrote for his delyueraunce, as Bel solis called kyng of kynges, Valerius kyng of Cadusia, Arthabesdes kyng of Armenia, and many other princes more, whom ye Parthians by reason of theyr artillerie, regarded neuer one whitte, and thus with the Romaynes, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the sunne ryfinge and sunne fettyng, as Tullye sayeth: but so farre they went, as artillarie woulde gyue them leaue. For I thinke all the grounde that they had, eyther northewarde, farther than the borders of Scythia, or Eastewarde, farther than the borders of Parthia, a man myght haue boughte with a small deale of money, of whiche thyng surely shotyng was the cause.

M. Crass.
Plutarch.
M. Anto.
Iuliano-

From the same contrie of Scythia the Gothians Hunnes, and Wandaliens came wyth the same wepons of artillarie, as Paulus Diaconus doth saye, and so berafte Rome of her empyre wyth fyre, spoyle, and waste, so yat in suche a learned citie was lesse scarce one man behynde, that had learnyng or leysoure to leue in writinge to them whiche shoulde come after howe so noble an Empyre, in so shorte a whyle, by a rable of banyshed bondemen, wythoute all order and pollicie, saue onelye theyr naturalle and daylye exercise in artillarye, was broughte to suche thraldome and ruine.

Paul Diac.

After them the Turkes hauing an other name, but yet

the same people, borne in Scythia, brought
 vp onely in artillarie, by the same weapon
 haue subdued and beraft from the Christen men all
 Asia and Aphrike (to speake vpon,) and the moost
 noble countries of Europe, to the greate diminishing of
 Christe his religion, to the great reproche of cowardyse
 of al christianitie, a manifest token of gods high wrath
 and displeasure ouer the synne of the worlde, but
 specialle amonges Christen men, which be on slepe
 made drunke with the frutes of the flesh, as infidelitie,
 disobedience to Goddes worde, and heresie, grudge,
 illwyll, stryfe, open battayle, and priuie enuye,
 coueytousnesse, oppression, vnmercifulnesse, with in-
 numerable sortes of vnspeakeable daylye bawdrye:
 which thinges surely, yf God holde not his holy hand
 ouer vs, and plucke vs from them, wyl bryng vs to a
 more Turkishnesse and more beastlye blynde barbarouf-
 nesse: as callyng ill thinges good, and good thynges ill,
 contemnyng of knowledge and learnynge, settyng at
 nought, and hauyng for a fable, God and his high
 prouidence, wyll bring vs (I say) to a more vngracious
 Turkishnesse (if more Turkishnesse can be then this)
 than if the Turkes had sworne, to bring al Turkye
 agaynst vs. For these frutes surelye must nedes
 sprynge of such seede, and such effect nedes folowe
 of suche a cause: if reason, truthe, and God, be not
 altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely no
 Turkysh power can ouerthrowe vs, if Turkysh lyfe
 do not cast vs downe before.

If god were wyth vs, it buted not the turke to be
 agaynst vs, but our vnfaythful sinfull lyuyng, which is
 the Turkes moder, and hath brought hym vp hitherto,
 muste nedes turne god from vs, because syn and he
 hath no felowshyp together. If we banished ill liuyng
 out of christendome, I am sure the Turke shulde not
 onelye, not ouercome vs, but scarce haue an hole to
 runne in to, in his own countrye.

But Christendome nowe I may tell you Philologe is
 muche lyke a man that hath an ytche on him, and lyeth

dronke also in his bed, and though a thefe come to the dore, and heaueth at it, to come in, and fleye hym, yet he lyeth in his bed, hauinge more pleafure to lye in a fumber and fcratche him felfe wher it ytcheth euen to the harde bone, than he hath redynes to ryfe up luftelye, and dryue him awaye that woulde robbe hym and fleye hym. But I trufte Chriftē wyl fo lyghten and lyfte vp Chriftē mennes eyes, that they fhall not flepe to death, nor that the turke Chriftē open enemy, fhall euer bofte that he hath quyte ouerthrowen vs. But as I began to tell you, shootyng is the chefe thinge, wherewith God fuffereth the turke to punyfh our noughtie liuinge wyth all: The youthe there is brought vp in Casp. de rebus Turc. shotyng, his priuie garde for his own perfon, is bowmen, the might of theyr shootyng is wel knowne of the Spanyardes, whiche at the towne called Newecastell in Illirica, were quyte flayne vp, of the turkes arrowes: whan the Spanyardes had no vfe of theyr gunnes, by reafon of the rayne. And nowe laft of all, the emperour his maieftie him felfe, at the Citie of Argier in Aphricke had his hooftē fore handeled wyth the Turkes arrowes, when his gonnes were quite difpatched and ftode him in no feruice, bycaufe of the raine that fell, where as in fuche a chaunce of raine, yf he had had bowmen, furelye there shoote myghte peraduenture haue bene a litle hindred, but quite difpatched and marde, it coulde neuer haue bene.

But as for the Turkes I am verie to talke of them partlye becaufe I hate them, and partlye bycaufe I am now affectioned euen as it were a man that had bene longe wanderyng in ftraunge contries and would fayne be at home to fe howe well his owne frendes prosper and leade theyr lyfe, and furelye me thincke I am verie merye at my harte to remember how I fhall finde at home in Englande amonges Englyfh men, partlye by hystories, of them that haue gone afore vs, agayne by experience of them whych we knowe, and lyue with vs as greate noble feates of warre doone by Artillarye, as euer was done at any tyme in any other common

welthe. And here I must nedes remember a certaine Frenchman called Textor, that writeth a boke whiche he nameth *Officina*,⁴ wherein he Textor. weueth vp many brokenended matters and fettes out much riraffe, pelsery, trumpery, baggage and beggerie ware clamparde vp of one that would seme to be fitter for a shop in dede than to write any boke. And amonges all other yll packed vp matters, he thrustes vp in a hepe togyther all the good shoters that euer hathe bene in the worlde as he saythe hymselfe, and yet I trow *Philologe* that of all the examples whiche I now by chaunce haue reherfed out of the best Authors both in greke and latin, Textor hath but. ii. of them, which. ii. surely yf they were to reken agayne, I wold not ones name them, partly bycause they were noughtie persons, and shoting somoche the worse, bycause they loued it, as Domitian and Commodus the emperours: partelye bycause Textor hath them in his boke, on whom I loked on bychaunce in the bookebynders shope, thynkyng of no suche matter. And one thing I wyl say to you *Philologe*, that if I were disposed to do it, and you hadde leysure to heare it, I coulde soone do as Textor doth, and reken vp suche a rable of shoters that be named here and there in poetes, as wolde holde vs talkyng whyles tomorowe: but my purpose was not to make mention of those which were feyned of Poetes for theyr pleasure, but of suche as were proued in histories for a truthe: but why I bringe in Textor was this: At laste when he hath rekened all shoters that he can, he sayeth thus, *Petrus Crinitus*⁵ P. Crin. 3 10. wryteth, that the Scottes whiche dwell beyonde Englande be verye excellent shoters, and the best bowmen in warre. This sentence whether Crinitus wrote it more leudly of ignoraunce, or Textor confirmeth it more piuyshlye of enuye, may be called in question and doubte: but this surelye do I knowe very well that Textor hath both red in Gaguinus the Frenche hystorie,⁶ and also hath hearde his father or graundfather taulke (except perchaunce he was borne

and bred in a Cloyster) after that sort of the shotynge of Englysshe men, that Textor neded not to haue gone so pynishlye beyonde Englande for shoting, but myght very soone, euen in the first towne of Kent, haue founde suche plentie of shotinge, as is not in al the realme of Scotland agayne. The Scottes surely be good men of warre in theyr owne feate as can be : but as for shotinge, they neyther can vse it for any profyte, nor yet wil challenge it for any prayse, although master Textor of his gentlenesse wold gyue it them. Textor neded not to haue fylled vppe his booke with suche lyes, if he hadde read the storye of Scotlande, whiche Ioannes Maior doeth wryte: wherein he myghte
Ioan Ma. 6
 haue learned, that when Iames Stewart fyrst kyng of that name, at the Parliament holden at Saynt Iohnnes towne or Perthie, commaunded vnder payne of a greate forfyte, that euerye Scotte shoulde learne to shote : yet neyther the loue of theyr countrie, the feare of their enemies, the auoydying of punishment, nor the receyuinge of anye profyte that myght come by it, coulede make them to be good Archers : whiche be vnapt and vnfytted therunto by Gods prouidence and nature.

Therefore the Scottes them selues proue Textor a lyer, bothe with authoritie and also daily experience, and by a certayne Prouerbe that they haue amonges them in theyr communication, wherby they gyue the whole prayse of shotynge honestlye to Englysshe men, saying thus : that euery Englysshe Archer beareth vnder hys gyrdle. xxiiii. Scottes.

But to lette Textor and the Scottes go : yet one thyng woulde I wysse for the Scottes, and that is this, that feinge one God, one faythe, one compasse of the see, one lande and countrie, one tungue in speakeynge, one maner and trade in luyng, lyke courage and stomake in war, lyke quicknesse of witte to learning, hath made Englande and Scotlande bothe one, they wolde suffre them no longer to be two : but cleane gyue ouer the Pope, which seketh none other thinge (as many a noble and wyse Scottish man doth

knowe) but to fede vp diffention and parties betwixt them and vs, procuring that thyng to be two, which God, nature, and reason, wold haue one.

Howe profitablen suche an attonement were for Scotlande, both Iohannes Maior,⁷ and Ector Boetius⁸ which wrote the Scottes

John Ma-
ior. 6. hist.
Scot.

Chronicles do tell, and also all the gentlemen of Scotlande with the poore communaltie, do wel knowe: So that there is nothing that stoppeth this matter, saue onely a fewe freers, and suche lyke, whiche with the dregges of our Englysh Papistrie lurking now amonges them, study nothing els but to brewe battell and stryfe betwixte both the people: Wherby onely they hope to maynetayne theyr Papistricall kyngdome, to the destruction of the noble blood of Scotlande, that then they maye with authoritie do that, whiche neither noble man nor poore man in Scotlande yet doeth knowe. And as for Scottishe men and Englishe men be not enemyes by nature, but by custome: not by our good wyll, but by theyr owne follye: whiche shoulde take more honour in being coupled to Englande, then we shulde take profite in being ioyned to Scotlande.

Wales being headye, and rebelling many yeares agaynst vs, laye wylde, vntylled, vnhabited, without lawe, iustice, ciuilitie and ordre: and then was amonges them more stealing than true dealing, more suretie for them that studyed to be noughte, then quyetnesse for them that laboured to be good: when nowe thanked be God, and noble Englande, there is no countrie better inhabited, more ciuile, more diligent in honest craftes, to get bothe true and plentifull lyuyng withall. And this felicitie (my mynde gyueth me) within these fewe dayes shal chaunce also to Scotlande, by the godly wysedome of oure mooste noble Prince kynge Henrye the. viii. by whome God hath wrought more wonderfull thynges then euer by any prince before: as banishing the byshop of Rome and herisie, bringyng to light god his worde and veritie, establisshing suche iustice and

equitie, through euery parte of this his realme, as neuer was sene afore.

To fuche a Prince of fuche a wyfdome, God hath referued this mooste noble attonement : wherby neither we shalbe any more troubled, nor the Scottes with their best countries any more destroyed, nor ye see, whiche God ordeyneth profytable for both, shall from eyther be any more stopped : to the great quietnesse, wealth, and felicitie of all the people dwellynge in this Ile, to the high renoume and prayse of our moost noble kyng, to the feare of all maner of nacions that owe ill wyll to either countrie, to the hygh pleasure of God, which as he is one, and hateth al diuision, so is he best of all pleased, to se thinges which be wyde and amysse, brought to peace and attonement. But Textor (I beshrowe him) hath almooste broughte vs from our communication of shoting. Now sir by my iudgement, the Artillarie of England farre exceedeth all other realmes : but yet one thing I doubt and longe haue surely in that point doubted, when, or by whom, shotyng was first brought in to Englande, and for the same purpose as I was ones in companye wyth syr Thomas Eliot knight, which surelie for his lerning in all kynde of knowlege bringeth much worthyp to all the nobilitie of Englande, I was so bould to aske hym, yf he at any tyme, had marked any thing, as concernyng the bryngyngin of shootyng in to Englande : he aunswered me gentlye agayne, that he had a worcke in hand which he nameth, *De rebus memorabilibus Angliæ*, which I trust we shal se in print shortlye,⁷ and for the accomplyshmente of that boke, he had read and perused ouer many olde monumentes of Englande, and in seking for that purpose, he marked this of shootyng in an excedyng olde cronicle, the which had no name, that what tyme as the Saxons came first into this realme in kyng Vortigers dayes, when they had bene here a whyle and at last began to faull out with the Brittons, they troubled and subdewed the Brittons wyth nothyng so much, as with theyr

bowe and shaftes, whiche wepon beyng straunge and not sene here before, was wonderfull terrible vnto them, and this beginninge I can thynke verie well to be true. But now as concerning many examples for the prayse of English archers in warre, surely I wil not be long in a matter yat no man doubteth in, and those few yat I wil name, shal either be proued by ye histories of our enemies, or els done by men that nowe liue.

Kynge Edward the thirde at the battel of Cressie ageinst Philip ye Frenche king as Gaguinus the french Historiographer plainlye doeth tell, slewe that daye all the nobilite of Fraunce onlye wyth hys archers.

Such lyke battel also fought ye noble black prince Edward beside Poeters, where Iohn ye french king with hys sonne and in a maner al ye peres of Fraunce were taken beside. xxx. thousand. which that daye were slayne, and verie few Englyshe men, by reason of theyr bowes.

Kynge Henrie the fiste a prince pereles and moste vyctoriouse conqueroure of all that euer dyed yet in this parte of the world, at the battel of Agin court with. vii. thousand. fyghtynge men, and yet many of them fycke, beyng suche Archers as the Cronycle sayeth that mooste parte of them drewe a yarde, slewe all the Cheualrie of Fraunce to the number of .XL. thousand. and moo, and lost not paste. xxvi. Englysshe men.

The bloudye Ciuil warre of England betwixt the house of Yorke and Lancafter, where shaftes slewe of both sydes to the destruction of mannye a yoman of Englande, whom foreine battell coude neuer haue subdewed bothe I wyll passe ouer for the pyttyefulnesse of it, and yet may we hyghelye prayse GOD in the remembraunce of it, seyng he of hys prouydence hath so knytte together those. ii. noble houfes, with so noble and pleasunte a flowre.

The excellent prince Thomas Hawarde nowe Duke of Northfolk, for whose good prosperite with al his noble familie al English hertes dayly doth pray with bowmen

of England slew kyng Iamie with many a noble Scot euen brant agenst Flodon hil, in which battel ye stoute archers of Cheshire and Lanchasshire for one day bestowed to ye death for their prince and country sake, hath gotten immortall name and prayse for euer.

The feare onely of Englysh Archers hathe done more wonderfull thinges than euer I redde in anye historye greke or latin, and moost wonderfull of all now of late beside Carlile betwixt Eske and Leuen at Sandy fikes, where the hoole nobilite of Scotlande for fere of the Archers of Englonde (next the stroke of God) as both Englysh men and Scotyshe men that were present hath toulde me were drowned and taken prisoners.

Nor that noble acte also, whyche althoughe it be almost lost by tyme, commeth not behynd in worthinesse, whiche my synguler good frende and Master Sir William Walgraue and Sir George Somerset dyd with with a few Archers to ye number as it is sayd of. xvi. at the Turne pike besyde Hammes where they turned with so fewe Archers, so many Frenchemen to flight, and turned so many oute of theyr Iackes, whych turne turned all fraunce to shame and reproche and those. ii. noble knightes to perpetuall prayse and fame.

And thus you se Philologe, in al countries Asia, Aphrike and Europe, in Inde, Aethiop, Aegypt and Iurie, Parthia, Persia, Greece, and Italie, Schythia, Turkey, and Englande, from the begynninge of the world euen to thys daye, that shotynge hath had the cheife stroke in warre.

¶ Hi. These examples surelye apte for the prayse of shotynge, nor feyned by poetes, but proued by trewe histories, distinct by tyme and order, hath delyted me excedyng muche, but yet me thynke that all thys prayse belongeth to stronge shootynge and drawynge of myghtye bowes not to prickynge and nere shotinge, for which cause you and many other bothe loue and vse shootynge.

Cor. Euer more Philologe you wyl haue some ouertwhart reason to drawe forthe more communica-

tion withall, but neuerthelesse you shall perceauē if you wyl, that vse of prickynge, and desyre of nere shootynge at home, are the onely causes of stronge shootynge in warre, and why? for you se, that the strongest men, do not drawe alwayes the strongest shoote, whiche thyng prouethe that drawinge stronge, liethe not so muche in the strength of man, as in the vse of shotynge, And experience teacheth the same in other thynges, for you shal se a weake smithe, whiche wyl wyth a lipe and turnyng of his arme, take vp a barre of yron, yat another man thrise as stronge, can not stirre. And a stronge man not vsed to shote, hath his armes breste and shoulders, and other partes wherewith he shuld drawe stronglye, one hindering and stoppinge an other, euen as a dosen stronge horses not vsed to the carte, lettes and troubles one another. And so the more stronge man not vsed to shote, shootes moost vnhanfumlye, but yet if a strong man with vse of shooting coulede applye all the partes of hys bodye togyther to theyr moost strengthe, than should he both drawe stronger than other, and also shoote better than other. But nowe a stronge man not vsed to shoote, at a girde, can heue vp and plucke in sunder many a good bowe, as wild horses at a brunte doth race and pluck in peces many a stronge carte. And thus stronge men, without vse, can do nothyng in shoting to any purpose, neither in warre nor peace, but if they happen to shoote, yet they haue done within a shoote or two when a weake man that is vsed to shoote, shal serue for all tymes and purposes, and shall shoote. x. shaftes, agaynst the others. iiii. and drawe them vp to the poynte, euerye tyme, and shoote them to the mooste aduantage, drawyng and withdrawing his shafte when he list, markynge at one man, yet let driuyng at an other man : whyche thynges in a set battayle, although a man, shal not alwayes vse, yet in bickerynges, and at ouerthwarte meatinges, when fewe archers be togyther, they do mooste good of all.

Agayne he that is not vsed to shoote, shall euermore

with vntowardnesse of houldynge his bowe, and nockynge his shafte, not lookyng to his stryng betyme, put his bowe alwayes in ieoperdy of breakynge, and than he were better to be at home, moreouer he shal shoote very fewe shafte, and those full vnhandsumlye, some not halfe drawen, some to hygh and some to lowe, nor he can not driue a shoote at a tyme, nor stoppe a shoote at a neede, but oute muste it, and verye ofte to euel profe.

Phi. And that is best I trow in war, to let it go, and not to stoppe it.

Tox. No not so, but somtyme to houlde a shafte at the heade, whyche if they be but few archers, doth more good with the feare of it, than it shoulde do if it were shot, with the stroke of it.

Phi. That isa wonder to me, yat the feare of a displeasure, shoulde do more harme than the displeasure it selfe.

Tox. Yes, ye knowe that a man whiche fereth to be banysht, out of hys cuntrye, can neyther be mery, eate, drynke nor sleape for feare, yet when he is banished in dede, he slepeth and eateth, as well as any other. And many menne doubtyng and fearyng whether they shoulde dye or no. euen for verye feare of deathe, preuenteth them selfe with a more bytter deathe then the other death shoulde haue bene in deade. And thus feare is euer worfe than the thyng feared, as is partelye proued, by the communication of Cyrus and Tigranes, the kynges funne
Ciri. ped. 3.

Phi. I graunte Toxophile, that vse of shotyng maketh a man drawe strong, to shoote at most aduantage, to kepe his gere, whiche is no small thinge in war, but yet me thinke, that the customable shooting at home, speciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothyng at all for stronge shooting which doth moste good in war. Therfore I suppose yf men shulde vse to goo into the fyeldes, and learne to shote myghty stronge shootes. and neuer care for any marke at al, they shulde do muche better.

Cor. The trouthe is, that fashion muche vsed, woulde do muche good, but this is to be feared, least that waye coulde not prouoke men to vse muche shotyng, bycause ther shulde be lytle pleasure in it. And that in shoting is beste, yat prouoketh a man to vse shotinge moste: For muche vse maketh men shoote, bothe strong and well, whiche two thinges in shootinge, euery man doeth desyre. And the chyefe mayntayner of vse, in any thyng, is comparyson, and honeste contention. For whan a manne stryuethe to be better than an other, he wyll gladly vse that thing, though it be neuer so paynful wherein he woulde excell, whiche thyng Aristotle verye pretelye doth note, sayenge.

Where is comparifon, there is victorie: Aristo: rhet. ad Theod.
 where is victorie, there is pleasure: And
 where is pleasure, no man careth what labour or payne he taketh, bycause of the prayse, and pleasure, that he shall haue, in doyng better than other men.

Agayne, you knowe, Hesiodus wryteth Hesio. in ope et die.
 to hys brother Perfes, yat al craftes men,
 by contending one honestly with an other, do encrease theyr cunningg with theyr substance. And therefore in London, and other great Cities, men of one crafte, moste commonly, dwelle togyther, bycause in honest stryuyng togyther, who shall do best, euery one maye waxe bothe cunningger and rycher, so lykewyse in shootyng, to make matches to assemble archers togyther, to contende who shall shoote best, and winne the game, encreaseth ye vse of shotyng wonderfully amonges men.

¶ Of Vse you speake very much Toxophile but I am sure in al other matters, Vse can do nothing, wythoute two other thinges be ioyned wyth it, one is a natural Aptnesse to a thinge, the other is a true waye or knowledge, howe to do the thing, to which. ii. yf Vse be ioyned, as thirde felowe, of them thre, procedeth perfectnesse and excellencie: If a manne lacke the first two, Aptnesse and Cunningg, Vse can

do lytle good, at all. For he yat woulde be an oratour and is nothinge naturallie fitte for it, that is to saye lacketh a good wytte and memorie, lacketh a good voyce, countenance and body, and other suche like, ye[t] yf he had all these thinges, and knewe not what, howe, where, when nor to whome he shulde speake, surelye the vse of spekyng, woulde brynge out none other frute but playne follye and bablyng, so yat Vse is the laste and the least necessarye, of all thre, yet no thing can be done excellently without them al thre. And therefore Toxophile I my selfe bicause I neuer knewe, whether I was apte for shooting or no, nor neuer knewe waye, howe I shulde learne to shoote I haue not vsed to shoote: and so I thinke fye hundred more in Englande do befyde me. And surelye yf I knewe that I were apte, and yat you woulde teach me howe to shoote, I woulde become an archer, and the rather, bycause of the good communication, the whiche I haue had with you this daye, of shotyng.

Ux. Aptnesse, Knowlege, and Vse, euen as you saye, make all thinges perfecte. Aptnesse is the fyrst and chyefest thinge, without whiche the other two do no good at all. Knowledge doeth encrease al maner of Aptnesse, bothe lesse and more. Vse sayth Cicero, is farre aboue all teachinge. And thus they all three muste be had, to do any thinge very well, and yf anye one be awaye, what so euer is done, is done verye meanly. Aptnesse is ye gyfte of nature, Knowlege, is gotten by ye helpe of other: Vse lyeth in our owne diligence and labour. So that Aptnesse and vse be ours and within vs, through nature and labour: Knowledge not ours, but commynge by other: and therefore moost dilligently, of all men to be sought for. Howe these three thinges stande with the artillery of Englande, a woorde or twoo I will saye.

All Englishe men generally, be apte for shotyng, and howe? Lyke as that ground is plentifull and frutefull, whiche withoute any tyllynge, bryngeth out

corne, as for example, yf a man shoulde go to the myll or market with corne, and happen to spyl some in the waye, yet it wolde take roote and growe, bycause ye soyle is so good : so England may be thought very frutefull and apt to brynge oute shooters, where children euen from the cradell, loue it : and yong men without any teachyng so diligentlie vse it. Agayne, lykewyse as a good grounde, well tyllled, and well husbanded, bringeth out great plentie of bygeared corne, and good to the faule : so if the youthe of Englande being apte of it selfe to shote, were taught and learned how to shote, the Archers of England shuld not be only a great deale ranker, and mo then they be : but also a good deale bygger and stronger Archers then they be. This commoditie shoulde folowe also yf the youth of Englande were taught to shote, that euen as plowing of a good grounde for wheate, doth not onely make it mete for the feede, but also riueth and plucketh vp by the rootes, all thistles, brambles and weedes, whiche growe of theyr owne accorde, to the destruction of bothe corne and grounde : Euen so shulde the teaching of youth to shote, not only make them shote well, but also plucke away by the rootes all other desyre to noughtye pastymes, as disyng, cardyng, and boouling, which without any teaching are vsed euery where, to the great harme of all youth of this realme. And lykewise as burnyng of thistles and diligent weding them oute of the corne, doth not halfe so moche ryd them, as when ye ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I haue hearde many a good husbandman say : euen so, neither hote punishment, nor yet diligent searching oute of suche vnthriftnesse by the officers, shal so throwly wede these vngracious games out of the realme, as occupying and bringyng vp youth in shotyng, and other honest pastyme. Thirdly, as a grounde which is apt for corne and also wel tilled for corne : yet if a man let it lye stil and do not occupye it. iii. or. iiii. yeare : but then wyll sow it,

if it be wheate (sayth Columella) it wil turne into rye: so if a man be neuer so apte to shote, nor neuer so wel taught in his youth to shote, yet if he giue it ouer, and not vse to shote, truly when he shalbe eyther compelled in war tyme for his country sake, or els prouoked at home for his pleasure sake, to faule to his bowe: he shal become of a sayre archer, a stark squyrter and dribber. Therefore in shotyng, as in all other things, there can neyther be many in number, nor excellent in dede: excepte these. iii. thynges, Aptnesse, Knowledge, and Vse goo togyther.

Phil. Very well sayde *Toxophile*, and I promyse you, I agree to this iudgement of yours altogyther and therefore I can not a lytle maruayle, why Englysshe men brynge no more helpe to shotyng, then nature it selfe gyueth them. For you se that euen children be put to theyr owne shiftes in shotyng, hauing nothyng taughte them: but that they maye chose, and chaunce to shoote ill, rather then well, vnaptlye soner then fitlye, vntowardlye, more easely then welfauouredlye, whiche thyng causeth manye neuer begynne to shoote: and moo to leaue it of when they haue begone, and moost of all to shote both worfe and weaker, then they might shote, if they were taught.

But peraduenture some men wyll saye; that wyth vse of shootyng a man shall learne to shoote, true it is he shall learne, but what shal he learne? marye to shoote noughtly. For all Vse, in all thynges, yf it be not stayed with Cunnyng, wyll verie easely brynge a man to do yat thyng, what so euer he goeth aboute with muche illfauorednes and deformitie.

Which thinge how much harme it doth in learning both *Crassus* excellencie dothe proue in *Tullie*, and I my selfe haue experiens in my lytle shootyng. And therefore *Toxophile*, you must nedes graunt me that ether Englysshe men do il, in not ioynyng Knowlege of shooting to Vse, or els there is no knowlege or cunnyng, which can be gathered of shooting.

Cor. Learning to shoote is lytle regarded in England, for this consideration, bycause men be so apte by nature they haue a greate redy forwardnesse and wil to vse it, al though no man teache them, al though no man byd them, and so of theyr owne corage they runne hedlynge on it, and shoote they ill, shote they well, greate hede they take not. And in verie dede. Aptnesse with Vse may do sumwhat without Knowledge, but not the tenthe parte, if so be they were ioyned with knowlege.

Whyche thre thynges be seperate as you se, not of theyr owne kynde, but through the negligence of men whyche coupleth them not to gyther. And where ye doubt whether there can be gadered any knowlege or arte in shootyng or no, surely I thynke that a man being wel exercised in it and sumwhat honestly learned with all, myght soone with diligent obseruyng and markyng the hole nature of shootyng, find out as it were an Arte of it, as Artes in other matters haue bene founde oute afore, seynge that shootyng standeth by those thynges, which maye both be thorowlye perceued, and perfittly knowen, and suche that neuer failes, but be euer certayne, belongyng to one moost perfect ende, as shootyng streight, and keping of a length bring a man to hit the marke, ye chiefe end in shootyng: which two thynges a man may attaine vnto, by diligent vsyng, and well handlyng those instrumentes, which belong vnto them. Therefore I can not see, but there lieth hyd in the nature of Shootyng, an Arte, whiche by notyng, and obseruyng of him, that is exercised in it, yf he be any thyng learned at al, maye be taught, to the greate forderaunce of Artillarie through out al this Realme. And trewlye I meruell gretelye, that Englyshe men woulde neuer yet, seke for the Arte of shootyng, seinge they be so apte vnto it, so praysed of there frendes, so feared of there enemies for it. Vegetius woulde haue maysters appointed, whyche shoulde teache youthe to

Vegetius.

shoote faire. Leo the Emperour of Rome,
 sheweth the same custome, to haue bene
 alwayes amongst ye olde Romaynes: whych custome
 of teachyng youth to shoote (saythe he) after it was
 omitted, and litle hede taken of, brought the hole
 Empire of Rome, to grete Ruine. *Schola Persica*,
 that is the Scole of the Persians, ap-
 poynted to brynge vp youthe, whiles
 they were. xx. yeres olde in shooting, is as
 notably knowne in Histories as the Impire of ye
 Persians: whych schole, as doth apere in Cornelius
 Tacitus, as sone as they gaue ouer and fell
 to other idle pastimes, brought bothe them
 and ye Parthians vnder ye subiection of the Romaines.
 Plato would haue common maisters and
 stipendes, for to teache youthe to shoote,
 and for the same purpose he would haue a brode
 feylde nere euery Citie, made common for men to vse
 shotyng in, whyche sayeng the more reasonably it is
 spoken of Plato, the more vnreasonable is theyr dede
 whiche woulde ditche vp those seeldes priuatly for
 ther owne profyt, whyche lyeth open generallye for
 the common vse: men by suche goodes be made
 rycher not honeste sayeth Tullie. Yf men can be
 perswaded to haue shootynge taughte, this
 aucthoritie whyche foloweth will perswade
 them, or els none, and that is as I haue ones sayde
 before, of Kynge Dauid, whose fyrste acte and ordi-
 naunce was after he was kynge that all Iudea should
 learne to shoote. Yf shotyng could speake. she would
 accuse England of vnkyndnesse and slouthfulnesse, of
 vnkyndnesse toward her bycause she beyng left to a
 lytle blynd vse, lackes her best maintener which is
 cunnyng: of slouthfulnesse towarde theyr owne selfe,
 bycause they are content wyth that whych aptnesse and
 vse doth graunt them in shootynge, and wyl seke for
 no knowlege as other noble common welthes haue
 done: and the iustlier shootynge myght make thys
 complaynt, seyng that of fence and weapons there is

Leo. 6. 3.

Strabo. 11.

Cor. Tac. 2.

De leg. 7.

De Off. 2.

made an Arte, a thyng in no wyfe to be compared to shootyng.

For of fence all mooste in euerye towne, there is not onely Masters to teache it, wyth his Prouoostes. Vthers Scholers and other names of arte and Schole, but there hath not fayld also, whyche hathe diligently and well fauouredly written it and is set out in Printe that euery man maye rede it.

What discommoditie doeth comme by the lacke of knowlege, in shootyng, it were ouer longe to rehearse. For manye that haue bene apte, and loued shootyng, bycause they knewe not whyche way to houlde to comme to shootyng, haue cleane tourned them selues from shootyng.

And I maye telle you Philologe, the lacke of teachyng to shoote in Englande, causeth very manye men, to playe with the kynges Actes, as a man dyd ones eyther with the Mayre of London or Yorke I can not tel whether, whiche dyd commaund by proclamation, euerye man in the Citie, to hange a lanterne wyth a candell, afore his dore: whiche thyng the man dyd, but he dyd not lyght it: And so manye bye bowes bicause of the acte, but yet they shote not: not of euyll wyll, but bycause they knowe not howe to shoote. But to conclude of this matter, in shoting as in all other thynges, Aptenesse is the fyrste, and chyefe thyng, whiche if it be awaye, neyther Cunnyng or Vse, doeth anye good at all, as the Scottes and Fraunce men, wyth knowledge and Vse of shootyng, shall become good Archers, whan a cunnynge shypwright shall make a stronge shyppe, of a Salowe tree: or whan a husbandman shall becom ryche, wyth sowyng wheat on Newmarket heath. Cunnyng muste be had, bothe to fet out, and amende Nature, and also to ouersee, and correcte vse: which vse yf it be not led, and gouerned wyth cunnynge, shall sooner go amisse, than strayght.

Aptnesse.

Cunnyng.

Vse maketh perfitnesse, in doinge that thyng,

whervnto nature maketh a man apte, and knowlege maketh a man cuninge before. So yat it is not so doubtful, which of them three hath moost stroke in shoting as it is playne and euident, that all thre must be had, in excellent shootynge.

Phi. For this comunicacion Toxophile I am very glad, and yat for myn owne sake bicause I trust now, to become a shoter, And in dede I thought a fore, English men most apte for shoting, and I sawe them dayelye vse shotyng, but yet I neuer founde none, that woulde talke of any knowlege whereby a man might come to shotynge. Therfore I trust that you, by the vse you haue had in shoting, haue so thorowly marked and noted the nature of it, that you can teache me as it were by a trade or waye how to come to it.

Tox. I graunte, I haue vsed shootinge meetly well, that I myght haue marked it wel ynoughe, yf I had bene diligent. But my much shootynge, hath caused me studie litle, so that thereby I lacke learnynge, whych shulde set out the Arte or waye in any thyng. And you knowe that I was neuer so well fene, in the Posteriorums of Aristotle as to inuent and searche out general Demonstrations for the setting forth of any newe Science. Yet by my trothe yf you wyll, I wyll goe with you into the fealdes at any tyme and tel you as much as I can, or els you maye stande some tyme at the prickes and looke on them which shoote best and so learne.

Phi. Howe lytle you haue looked of Aristotle, and how muche learnynge, you haue lost by shotynge I can not tell, but this I woulde saye and yf I loued you neuer so ill, that you haue bene occupied in sumwhat els besyde shotynge. But to our purpose, as I wyll not requyre a trade in shotinge to be taught me after the futeletye of Aristotle, euen so do I not agre wyth you in this poynt, that you wold haue me learne to shoote with lokyng on them which shoote best, for so I knowe I should neuer come to shote meanelye. For in shotyng as in all other thynges which be gotten by teachynge, there must be shewed a waye and a path

which shal leade a man to ye best and cheiffeft point whiche is in shootynge, whiche you do marke youre selfe well ynough, and vttered it also in your communication, when you sayde there laye hyd in ye nature of shootynge a certayne waye whych wel perceyued and thorowlye knowen, woulde bring a man wythout any wanderyng to ye beste ende in shotyng whych you called hitting of the pricke. Therefore I would refer all my shootinge to that ende which is best, and so shuld I come the soner to some meane. That whiche is best hath no faulte, nor can not be amended. So shew to me best shootynge, not the beste shoter, which yf he be neuer so good, yet hath he many a faulte easelye of any man to be espyed. And therefore meruell not yf I requyre to folowe that example whych is without faulte, rather than that which hath so manye faultes. And thys waye euery wyfe man doth folow in teachynge any maner of thyng. As Aristotle when he teacheth a man to be good he setteth not before hym Socrates lyfe whiche was ye best man, but chiefe goodnesse it selfe accordynge to whych he would haue a man directe his lyfe.

Cor. This waye which you requyre of me *Philologe*, is to hard for me, and to hye for a shooter to taulke on, and taken as I suppose out of the middes of Philosophie, to ferche out the perfite ende of any thyng, ye which perfite ende to synde out, sayth Tullie, is the hardest thyng in the worlde, the onely *Ora. ad. Bru.* occasyon and cause, why so many sectes of Philosophers hathe bene alwayse in learnynge. And althoughe as Cicero saith a man maye ymagine and dreame in his mynde of a perfite ende in any thyng, yet there is no experience nor vse of it, nor was neuer sene yet amonges men, as alwayes to heale the sycke, euer more to leade a shyppe without daunger, at all times to hit the prick: shall no Physicion, no shypmaster, no shoter euer do. And Aristotle saith that in all deades there are two pointes to be *Arist. pol. 8. 6.* marked, possibilitie and excellencie, but

chiefely a wise man must folowe and laye hand on possibilitie for feare he leafe bothe. Therfore seying that which is moost perfect and best in shootyng as alwayes to hit ye pricke, was neuer sene nor hard tel on yet amonges men, but onelye ymagined and thought vpon in a man his mynde, me thinck this is the wisest counfel and best for vs to solow rather that which a man maye come to, than yat whyche is vnpossible to be attained to, lestely that sayeng of ye wyse mayde Ismene in Sophocles maye be verified on vs.

A foole he is that takes in hande he can not ende. Soph. Ant.

Phi. Well yf the perfite ende of other matters, had bene as perfitye knowne, as the perfite ende of shotyng is, there had neuer bene so manye sectes of Philosophers as there be, for in shoting both man and boye is in one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pryck is mooste perfecte end that can be imagyned, so that we shall not nede gretly contend in this matter. But now sir, whereas you thynke yat a man in learning to shoote or any thyng els, shuld rather wyselye solow possibilitie, than vainly seke for perfite excellencie, surelye I wyl proue yat euery wyse man, yat wisely wold learne any thyng, shal chiefly go aboute yat wherevnto he knoweth wel he shal neuer come. And you youre selfe I suppose shal confesse ye same to be ye best way in teachyng, yf you wyl answere me to those thinges whych I wyl aske of you.

Cor. And yat I wyl gladlye, both bycause I thynke it is vnpossible for you to proue it, and also bycause I desire to here what you can saye in it.

Phi. The studie of a good Physicion Toxophile, I trow be to know al diseases and al medicines fit for them.

Cor. It is so in dede.

Phi. Bicause I suppose he would gladly at al tymes heale al diseases of al men.

Cor. Ye truly.

Phi. A good purpose surely, but was ther euer phyucion yet among so many whyche had laboured

in thys study, that at al times coulede heale all diseases?

Cor. No trewly; nor I thyncke neuer shalbe.

Phil. Than Physicions by lyke, studie for yat, whiche none of them commeth vnto. But in learning of fence I pray you what is yat which men moost labor for?

Cor. That they may hit a nother I trow and neuer take blow theyr selfe.

Phil. You say trothe, and I am sure euery one of them would faine do so when so euer he playethe. But was there euer any of them so conning yet, which at one tyme or other hath not be[n] touched?

Cor. The best of them all is glad somtyme to escape with a blowe.

Phil. Than in fence also, men are taught to go aboute that thing, whiche the best of them all knowethe he shall neuer attayne vnto. Moreouer you that be shoters, I pray you, what meane you, whan ye take so greate heade, to kepe youre standynge, to shoote compasse, to looke on your marke so diligently, to cast vp grasse diuerse tymes and other thinges more, you know better than I. What would you do than I pray you?

Cor. Hit ye marke yf we could.

Phil. And doth euery man go about to hit the marke at euery shoote?

Cor. By my trothe I trow so, and as for my selfe I am sure I do.

Phil. But al men do not hit it at al tymes.

Cor. No trewlye for that were a wonder.

Phil. Can any man hit it at all tymes?

Cor. No man verilie.

Phil. Than by likely to hit the pricke alwayes, is vnpossible. For that is called vnpossible whych is in no man his power to do.

Cor. Vnpossible in dede.

Phil. But to shoote wyde and far of the marke is a thyng possible.

Cor. No man wyll denie that.

Phil. But yet to hit the marke alwayse were an excellent thyng.

Cor. Excellent surelie.

Phil. Than I am sure those be wiser men, which couete to shoote wyde than those whiche couete to hit the prycke.

Cor. Why so I pray you.

Phil. Because to shote wyde is a thyng possible, and therefore as you saye youre selfe, of euery wyse man to be folowed. And as for hittinge ye prick, bycause it is vnpossible, it were a vaine thyng to go aboute it; but in good sadnesse *Toxophile* thus you se that a man might go throghe all craftes and sciences, and proue that anye man in his science coueteth that which he shal neuer gette.

Cor. By my trouth (as you saye) I can not denye, but they do so: but why and wherfore they shulde do so, I can not learne.

Phil. I wyll tell you, euerye crafte and science standeth in two thynges: in Knowing of his crafte, and Working of his crafte: For perfyte knowlege bringeth a man to perfyte working. This knowe Paynters, karuers, Taylours, shomakers, and all other craftes men, to be true. Nowe, in euery crafte, there is a perfite excellencie, which may be better knownen in a mannes mynde, then folowed in a mannes dede: This perfytenesse, bycause it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore al men, no one particuler man is able to compasse it; and as it is generall to al men, so it is perpetuall for al time whiche proueth it a thyng for man vnpossible: although not for the capacitie of our thinking whiche is heauenly, yet surelye for the habilitie of our working whyche is worldlye.

God gyueth not full perfytenesse to one man (sayth Tullie) lest if one man had all in any one science, ther shoulde be nothyng leste for an other. Yet God suffereth vs to haue the perfyte knowledge of it, that such a knowledge dilligently

folowed, might bring forth accordyng as a man doth labour, perfyte woorkyng. And who is he, that in learnynge to wryte, woulde forsake an excellent example, and folowe a worfe?

Therefore seing perfytenesse it selfe is an example for vs, let euerye man studye howe he maye come nye it, which is a poynt of wysdome, not reason with God why he may not attaine vnto it, which is vayne curiositie.

Cor. Surely this is gaily said Philologe, but yet this one thinge I am afraide of, lest this perfittnesse which you speke on will discourage men to take any thyng in hande, bycause afore they begin, they know, they shal neuer come to an ende. And thus dispayre shall dispatche, euen at the fyrste entrynge in, many a good man his purpose and intende. And I thinke both you your selfe, and al other men to, woulde counte it mere folie for a man to tell hym whome he teacheth, that he shal neuer optaine that, whyche he would saineſt learne. And therefore this same hyghe and perfite waye of teachyng let vs leue it to hygher matters, and as for shootyng it shalbe content with a meaner waye well ynoughe.

Phi. Where as you saye yat this hie perfittnesse will discourage men, bycause they knowe, they shal neuer attayne vnto it, I am sure cleane contrarie there is nothyng in the world shal incourage men more than it. And whye? For where a man seith, that though a nother man be neuer so excellent, yet it is possible for hym selfe to be better, what payne or labour wyl that man refuse to take? yf the game be onse wonne, no man wyl set forth hys foote to ronne. And thus perfittnesse beyng so hyghe a thyng that men maye looke at it, not come to it, and beyng so plentifull and indifferent to euerye bodye that the plentifulnesse of it may prouoke all men to labor, bycause it hath ynoughe for all men, the indifferencye of it shall encourage euerye one to take more paine than hys fellowe, bycause euerye man is rewarded accordyng to his

nye commyng, and yet whych is moste meruel of al, ye more men take of it, the more they leue behynd for other, as Socrates dyd in wysdome, and Cicero in eloquens, whereby other hath not lacked, but hathe fared a greate deele ye better. And thus perfittnesse it selfe bycause it is neuer obteyned, euen therfore only doth it cause so many men to be so well sene and perfite in many matters, as they be. But where as you thynke yat it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in loking at the most perfittnesse in it, but rather woulde haue a manne go some other way to worke, I trust no wyse man wyl discomend that way, except he thincke himselfe wyser than Tullye, whiche doeth playnlye saye, that yf he taught any maner of craste
 De Orat. 3.
 as he dyd Rhetorike he would labor to bringe a man to the knowlege of the moost perfittnesse of it, whyche knowlege should euer more leade and gyde a manne to do that thyng well whiche he went aboute. Whych waye in al maner of learning to be best, Plato dothe also declare in Euthydemus, of whome Tullie learned it as he dyd many other thynges mo. And thus you se Toxophile by what reasons and by whose authoritie I do require of you this waye in teachynge me to shoote, which waye I praye you withoute any more delaye shew me as far forth as you haue noted and marked.

Cor. You cal me to a thyng Philologe which I am lothe to do. And yet yf I do it not beinge but a finale matter as you thynke, you wyll lacke frendeshypp in me, yf I take it in hande and not bring it to passe as you woulde haue it, you myghte thyncke great want of wysdome in me.

But aduise you, feing ye wyll nedes haue it so, the blame shalbe yours, as well as myne: yours for puttyng vpon me so instauntlye, myne in receyuyng so fondly a greater burthen then I am able to beare.

Therfore I, more wyllynge to fulfyll your mynde, than hopynge to accomplysh that which you loke for, shall speake of it, not as a master of shotynge, but as one not

altogyther ignoraunt in shotynge. And one thyng I
am glad of, the funne drawinge downe so fast
into the west, shall compell me to drawe a pace
to the ende of our matter, so that his darknesse shall
somethyng cloke myne ignoraunce. And bycause
you knowe the orderynge of a matter better
then I: Aske me generallye of it, and I
shall particularly answere to it. ¶

Very gladly Toxophile: for so
by ordre, those thynges
whiche I would
knowe, you shal
tell the bet-
ter: and
those
thynges
whiche you shall tell, I
shall remembre
the better.



TOXOPHI=

LVS. B.

¶ THE SECONDE BOOKE OF the schole of shotyng.



Phil. What is the cheyfe poynte in shootyng,
that euerye manne laboureth to come to?

Cor. To hyt the marke.

Phi. Howe manye thynges are required
to make a man euer more hyt the marke?

Cor. Two.

Phi. Whiche two?

Cor. Shotinge streyght and kepyng of a lengthe.

Phil. Howe shoulde a manne shoote strayght, and
howe shulde a man kepe a length?

Cor. In knowynge and hauynge thynges, belongynge
to shootyng: and whan they be knowen and had, in
well handlyng of them: whereof some belong to
shotyng strayght, some to keping of a length, some
commonly to them bothe, as shall be tolde seuerally
of them, in place conuenient.

Phi. Thynges belongyng to shotyng, whyche be
they?

Cor. All thynges be outwarde, and some be instru-

mentes for euey fere archer to brynge with him, proper for his owne vse: other thynges be generall to euey man, as the place and tyme serueth.

Phi. Which be instrumentes?

Cor. Bracer, shotynggloue, stryng, bowe and shaft.

Phi. Whiche be general to all men?

Cor. The wether and the marke, yet the marke is euer vnder the rule of the wether.

Phi. Wherin standeth well handlynge of thynges?

Cor. All togyther wythin a man him selfe, some handlynge is proper to instrumentes, some to the wether, somme to the marke, some is within a man hym selfe.

Phi. What handlyng is proper to the Instrumentes?

Cor. Standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowfing, wherby commeth fayre shotyng, whiche neyther belong to wynde nor wether, nor yet to the marke, for in a rayne and at no marke, a man may shote a fayre shoote.

Phi. Well sayde, what handlynge belongeth to the wether?

Cor. Knowyng of his wynde, with hym, agaynst hym, fyde wynd, ful fyde wind, fyde wynde quarter with him, fyde wynde quarter agaynste hym, and so forthe.

Phi. Well than go to, what handlynge belongeth to the marke?

Cor. To marke his standyng, to shote compasse, to draw euermore lyke, to lowse euermore lyke, to confyde the nature of the pricke, in hylles and dales, in straye planes and winding places, and also to espy his marke.

Phi. Very well done. And what is onely within a man hym selfe?

Cor. Good heede gyuyng, and auoydyng all affections: whiche thynges ostentymes do marre and make all. And these thynges spoken of me generally and brefely, yf they be wel knowen, had, and handled,

shall brynge a man to suche shootynge, as fewe or none euer yet came vnto, but surely yf he misse in any one of them, he can neuer hyt the marke, and in the more he doth misse, the farther he shoteth from his marke. But as in all other matters the fyrst steppe or stayre to be good, is to know a mannes faulte, and than to amende it, and he that wyl not knowe his faulte, shall neuer amende it.

Ph. You speake now Toxophile, euen as I wold haue you to speake : But lette vs returne agayne vnto our matter, and those thynges whyche you haue packed vp, in so shorte a rourne, we wyll lowse them forth, and take euery pyece as it were in our hande and looke more narrowlye vpon it.

Tox. I am content, but we wyll rydde them as fast as we can, bycause the sunne goeth so faste downe, and yet somewhat muste needes be sayde of euerye one of them.

Ph. Well sayde, and I trowe we beganne wyth those thynges whiche be instrumentes, whereof the fyrste, as I suppose, was the Brazer.

Tox. Litle is to be sayd of the brazer. A bracer serueth for two causes, one to saue his arme from the strype of the strynge, and his doublet from wearynge, and the other is, that the strynge glydynge sharpelye and quicklye of the bracer, may make the sharper shoote. For if the strynge shoulde lyght vpon the bare sleue, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there. But it is best by my iudgemente, to gyue the bowe somuche bent, that the strynge neede neuer touche a mannes arme, and so shoulde a man nede no bracer as I knowe manye good Archers, whiche occupye none. In a bracer a man muste take hede of. iii. thynges, yat it haue no nayles in it, that it haue no bucles, that it be fast on with laces wythout agglettes. For the nayles wyll there in sunder, a mannes string, before he be ware, and so put his bowe in ieoperdy: Buckles and agglettes at vnwares, shall race hys bowe, a thinge bothe euyl to the syghte, and perillous for freatyng. And thus a

Bracer, is onely had for this purpose, that the stryngemaye haue redye passage.

Pji. In my Bracer I am cunnyng ynough, but what saye you of the shootyng gloue.

Cor. A shootyng Gloue is chieflie, for to saue a mannes fyngers from hurtyng, that he maye be able to beare the sharpe stryng to the vttermoſt of his strengthe. And whan a man shooteth, the might of his shoote lyethe on the formooſte fynger, and on the Ringman, for the myddle fynger whiche is the longeſt, lyke a lubber ſtarteth backe, and beareth no weyghte of the stryng in a maner at all, therfore the two other fyngers, muſte haue thicker lether, and that muſte haue thickeſt of all, where on a man lowſeth moſte, and for ſure lowſyng, the formooſte finger is moſte apte, bycauſe it holdeth beſt, and for yat purpoſe nature hath as a man woulde ſaye, yocked it with the thombe. Ledder, if it be nexte a mans ſkynne, wyl ſweat, waxe hard and chaſe, therefore ſcarlet for the ſoſtneſ of it and thickeſſe wyth all, is good to ſewe wythin a mannes gloue. If that wylle not ſerue, but yet youre finger hurteth, you muſte take a ſearynge cloth made of fine virgin waxe, and Deres ſewet, and put nexte your fynger, and ſo on wyth youre gloue. If yet you fele your fynger pinched, leaue shootyng both becauſe than you ſhall ſhoote nought, and agayn by litle and lytle, hurtyng your finger, ye ſhall make it longe and longe to or you ſhoote agayne. A newe gloue pluckes many ſhootes bycauſe the ſtringe goeth not freelye of, and therefore the fingers muſte be cut ſhorte, and trimmed with ſome ointment, that the ſtring maye glyd wel awaye. Some wyth holdyng in the nocke of theyr ſhaſte too harde, rub the ſkyn of there fingers. For this there be. ii. remedyes, one to haue a goole quyll ſplettyd and ſewed againſte the nockyng, betwixt the lining and the ledder, whyche ſhall helpe the ſhoote muche to, the other waye is to haue ſome roule of ledder ſewed betwixt his fingers at the ſetting on of the fingers, which ſhall kepe his fingers ſo in funder, that they

shal not hold the nock so fast as they did. The shootyng gloue hath a purfe whych shall serue to put fine linen cloth and wax in, twoo necessary thynges for a shooter, some men vse gloues or other suche lyke thyng on their bow hand for chafyng, because they houlde so harde. But that commeth commonlye, when a bowe is not rounde, but somewhat square, fine waxe shall do verye well in such a case to laye where a man holdeth his bow: and thus muche as concernynge your gloue. And these thynges althoughe they be trifles, yet bycause you be but a yonge shoter, I woulde not leue them out

Phi. And so you shal do me moost pleasure: The string I trow be the next.

Cor. The nexte in dede. A thing though it be lytle, yet not a litle to be regarded. But
Stringe.
 here in you muste be contente to put youre truste in honest stringers. And surely stringers ought more diligently to be looked vpon by the officers than ether bower or fletcher, bycause they may deceyue a a simple man the more easelyer. And ill stringe brekethe many a good bowe, nor no other thyng halfe so many. In warre if a string breke the man is loste and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and althoughe he haue two stringes put one at once, yet he shall haue small leasure and lesse rounge to bend his bow, therfore god send vs good stringers both for war and peace. Now what a stringe ought to be made on, whether of good hempe as they do now a dayes, or of flaxe or of filke, I leaue that to the iugemente of stringers, of whome we muste bye them on. **Eustathius**
Eustathius.
 upon this verse of homere.

*Twang quoth the bow, and twang quoth the string,
 out quicklie the shaft flue.*

Iliad. 4.

doeth tel, that in oulde tyme they made theyr bowe strynges of bullox thermes, whiche they twyned together as they do ropes, and therfore they made a great twange. Bowe strynges also hath bene made of the heare of an horse tayle called for the matter of

them Hippias as dothe appeare in manye good authors of the Greke tongue. Great Fauorinus. stringes, and lytle stringes be for diuerse purposes: the great string is more surer for the bowe, more stable to pricke wythal, but slower for the cast, the lytle string is cleane contrarye, not so sure, therefore to be taken hede of lesse, with longe tarienge on, it breake your bowe, more fit to shoote farre, than apte to pricke nere, therefore when you knowe the nature of bothe bigge and, lytle you must fit your bow, according to the occasion of your shootinge. In stringinge of your bow (though this place belong rather to the handlyng than to the thyng it selfe, yet because the thyng, and the handlyng of the thyng, be so ioyned together, I must nede some tyme couple the one wyth the other,) you must mark the fit length of your bowe. For yf the stringe be to short, the bending wyll gyue, and at the last slyp and so put the bowe in ieopardye. Yf it be longe, the bendynge must nede be in the smal of the string, which beyng fore twined must nede knap in sunder to ye distruction of manye good bowes. Moreouer you must looke that youre bowe be well nocked for fere the sharpnesse of the horne there a sunder the stringe. And that chaunceth ofte when in bending, the string hath but one wap to strengthe it wyth all: You must marke also to set youre stringe streygte on, or elles the one ende shall wriethe contrary to the other, and so breke your bowe. When the stringe begynneth neuer so lytle to were, trust it not, but a waye with it for it is an yll saued halpeny yat costes a man a crowne. Thus you se howe many ieopardyes hangethe ouer the selye poore bowe, by reason onelye of the stringe. As when the stringe is shorte, when it is longe, when eyther of the nockes be nought, when it hath but one wap, and when it taryethe ouer longe on.

¶ Hi. I se wel it is no meruell, though so many bowes be broken.

Cor. Bowes be broken twise as many wayes besyde

these. But a gayne in stringyng your bowe, you must loke for muche bende or lytle bende for they be cleane contrarye.

The lytle bende hath but one commoditie, whyche is in shootyng faster and farther shoote, and ye cause therof is, bycause the stryng hath so far a passage, or it parte wyth the shafte. The greate bende hath many commodities: for it maketh easyer shootyng the bowe beyng halfe drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the stryng stoppeth before it come at the arme. It wyl not so sone hit a mannes sleue or other geare, by the same reason: It hurteth not the shaft fedder, as the lowe bende doeth. It suffereth a man better to espye his marke. Therefore lette your bowe haue good byg bend, a shaftement and ii. fyngers at the least, for these which I haue spoken of.

¶ The brazer, gloue, and stryng, be done, nowe you muste come to the bowe, the chiefe instrument of all. Bowe.

¶ Dyuers countryes and tymes haue vsed alwayes dyuers bowes, and of dyuers fashions.

Home bowes are vsed in some places nowe, and were vsed also in Homerus dayes, for Pandarus bowe, the best shooter among al the Troianes, was made of two Goete hornes ioyned togyther, the lengthe wherof sayth Homer, was. xvi hand-bredes, not far differing from the lengthe of our bowes. Iliad. 4.

Scripture maketh mention of brashe bowes. Iron bowes, and stile bowes, haue bene of longe tyme, and also nowe are vsed among the Turkes, but yet they must nedes be vnprofitable. For yf brashe, yron or stile, haue theyr owne strength and pith in them, they be farre aboue mannes strength: yf they be made meete for mannes strengthe, theyr pith is nothyng worth to shoote any shoote wyth all. Psalm. 17.

The Ethiopians had bowes of palme tre, whiche seemed to be very stronge, but we haue none experience of them. The lengthe of them was. iiii. cubites. The men of Inde had theyr Hero. in pol.

bowes made of a rede, whiche was of a great strengthe. And no maruayle though bowe and shaftes were made thereof, for the redes be so great in Inde, as Herodotus sayth, that of euery ioynte of a rede, a man may make a fyshers bote. These bowes, sayeth Arrianus in Alexanders lyfe, gaue so great a stroke, that no harneys or buckler though it were neuer so strong, could wythstand it. The length of suche a bowe, was euen wyth the length of hym, that vsed it. The Lycians vsed bowes made of a tree, called in Latyn *Cornus*, (as concerning the name of it in English, I can soner proue that other men call it false, than I can tell the right name of it my selfe) this wood is as harde as horne and very fit for shaftes, as shall be toulde after.

In Thalia.

Arrianus. 8.

In Polym.

Ouid sheweth that Syringa the Nympe, and one of the maydens of Diana, had a bowe of this wood whereby the poete meaneth, that it was verie excellent to make bowes of.

Metamor. 1.

As for brasell, Elme, Wych, and Asshe, experience doth proue them to be but meane for bowes, and so to conclude Ewe of all other thynges, is that, wherof perfite shootyng woulde haue a bowe made.

Thys woode as it is nowe generall and common amonges Englyshe men, so hath it continewed from longe tyme and had in moost price for bowes, amonges the Romaynes, as doth apere in this halfe verse of Vyrgill.

Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Virgilius.

i.

Ewe fit for a bowe to be made on.

Nowe as I saye, a bowe of Ewe must be hadde for perfecte shootinge at the prickes; whiche marke, because it is certayne, and mooste certaine rules may be gyuen of it, shall serue for our communication, at this time. A good bowe is knowen, much what as good counsayle is knowen, by the ende and prooffe of it, and yet bothe a bowe and good counsell, maye be made bothe better and worse, by well or vyl handlynge

of them: as oftentimes chaunceth. And as a man both muste and wyll take counsell, of a wyse and honeste man, though he se not the ende of it, so must a shooter of necessitie, truste an honest and good bowyer for a bowe, afore he knowe the prooffe of it. And as a wyse man wyll take plentye of counsel afore hand what foeuer need, so a shooter shulde haue alwayes. iii. or. iiij. bowes, in store, what so euer chaunce.

¶ Phi. But if I truste bowyers alwayes, sometyme I am lyke to be deceyued.

Cor. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bowe, that you shal be the feeldomer deceyued. If you come into a shoppe, and fynde a bowe that is small, long, heauy and strong, lyinge fl[r]eyght, not windyng, not marred with knot, gaule, wyndeshake, wem, freate or pynche, bye that bowe of my warrant. The beste colour of a bowe yat I fynde, is whan the backe and the bellye in woorkyng, be muche what after one maner, for such oftentimes in wearyng, do proue lyke virgin wax or golde, hauynge a fine longe grayne, euen from the one ende of the bowe, to the other: the short graine although suche proue well somtyme, are for ye most parte, very brittle. Of the makynge of the bowe, I wyll not greatly meddle, lest I shoulde seeme to enter into an other mannes occupation, whyche I can no skyll of. Yet I woulde desyre all bowyers to season theyr staues well, to woorken them and fynke them well, to giue them heetes conuenient, and tyllerynges plentye. For thereby they shoulde bothe get them selues a good name, (And a good name increaseth a mannes profyte muche) and also do greate commodite to the hole Realme. If any men do offend in this poynte, I am afrayde they be those iourney men whiche labour more spedyly to make manye bowes for theyr owne monye sake, than they woorken dilligently to make good bowes, for the common welth sake, not layinge before theyr eyes, thys wyse prouerbe.

Sone ynough, if wel ynough.

Wherwyth euere honest handye craftes man shuld measure, as it were wyth a rule, his worke withal. He that is a iourney man, and rydeth vpon an other mannes horse, yf he ryde an honest pace, no manne wyll dysfallowe hym: But yf he make Poste haste, bothe he that oweth the horse, and he peraduenture also that afterwarde shal bye the horse, may chaunce to curse hym.

Suche hastineffe I am afrayde, maye also be found amonges some of them, whych through out ye Realme in diuerse places worke ye kinges Artillarie for war, thinkynge yf they get a bowe or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashion, they be good ynough for bearynge gere. And thus that weapon whiche is the chiefe defence of the Realme, verye ofte doth lytle seruyce to hym that shoulde vse it, bycause it is so negligentlye wrought of him that shuld make it, when trewlye I suppose that nether ye bowe can be to good and chese woode, nor yet to well seasoned or truly made, wyth hetynge and tillerynges, nether that shafte to good wood or to thorowely wrought, with the best pinion fedders that can be gotten, wherwith a man shal serue his prince, defende his countrie, and saue hym selfe frome his enemye. And I trust no man wyll be angrie wyth me for spekyng thus, but those which finde them selfe touched therein: which ought rather to be angrie wyth them selfe for doynge so, than to be discontent wyth me for sayng so. And in no case they ought to be displeased wyth me, seinge this is spoken also after that sorte, not for the notynge of anye person seuerallye, but for the amendynge of euerye one generallye. But turne we agayne to knowe a good shootynge bowe for oure purpose.

Euerye bowe is made eyther of a bouge, of a plante or of the boole of the tree. The bouge commonlye is verye knotty, and full of pinnes, weak, of small pithe, and sone wyll folowe the stringe, and seldome werith to any fayre coloure, yet for chyl dren and yonge beginners it maye serue well ynoughe. The plante proueth many times wel, yf it be of a good and clene groweth, and for

the pith of it is quicke ynoughe of cast, it wyll plye and bow far afore it breake, as al other yonge thinges do. The boole of ye tree is clenest without knot or pin, hauinge a faste and harde woode by reasonne of hys full groweth, stronge and myghtye of cast, and best for a bow, yf the staues be euen clouen, and be afterwarde wroughte not ouer[t]wharte the woode, but as the graine and streyght growyng of the woode leadethe a man, or elles by all reason it must sone breake, and that in many shiuers. This must be considered in the roughe woode, and when the bow staues be ouerwrought and fashioned. For in dressing and pikynge it vp for a bow, it is to late to loke for it. But yet in these poyntes as I sayd before you muste truste an honest bowyer, to put a good bow in youre hand, somewhat lookinge your selfe to those tokens whyche I shewed you. And you muste not sticke for a grote or. xii. d. more than a nother man would giue yf it be a good bowe. For a good bow twise paide for is better than an ill bowe once broken.

Thus a shooter muste begyn not at the makynge of hys bowe lyke a bower, but at the byinge of hys bow lyke an Archere. And when his bow is bought and brought home, afore he truste muche vpon it, let hym trye and trym it after thys forte.

Take your bow in to the feeld, shote in hym, sinke hym wyth deade heauye shaftes, looke where he commethe moost, prouyde for that place betymes, lest it pinche and so freate; when you haue thus shot in him, and perceyued good shootynge woode in hym, you must haue hym agayne to a good cunnyng, and trustie woorkeman, whyche shall cut hym shorter, and pike hym and dresse hym fyttter, make hym comme rounde compace euery where, and whippyng at the endes, but with discretion, lest he whyp in sunder or els freete, soner than he is ware of, he must also lay hym streght, if he be caste or otherwise nede require, and if he be flatte made, gather hym rounde, and so shall he bothe shoote the faster, for farre shootynge, and also the surer for nere pryckynge.

¶ *Phi.* What yf I come into a shoppe, and spye oute

a bow, which shal both than please me very wel whan I by him, and be also very fit and meete for me whan I shoote in hym: so that he be both weake ynoughe for easye shootyng, and also quicke and spedye ynoughe for farre castyng, than I woulde thynke I shall nede no more busynesse wyth him, but be contente wyth hym, and vse hym well ynoughe, and so by that meanes, auoide bothe greate trouble, and also some cost whiche you cunninge archers very often put your selues vnto, beyng verie Englyshe men, neuer ceasyng piddelyng about your bowe and shaftes whan they be well, but eyther with shortyng and pikyng your bowes, or els with newe fetheryng, peecyng and headinge your shaftes, can neuer haue done vntyll they be starke nought.

Tor. Wel *Philologe*, surelye if I haue any iudgement at all in shootyng, it is no very great good token in a bowe, whereof nothyng whan it is newe and fresshe, nede be cutte away, euen as Cicero sayeth of a yonge mannes wit and style, which you knowe better than I. For euerye newe thyng muste alwayes haue more than it neadeth, or elles it wyll not waxe better and better, but euer decaye, and be worse and worse. Newe ale if it runne not ouer the barrell whan it is newe tunned, wil sone leafe his pith, and his head afore he be longe drawn on.

And lyke wyse as that colte whyche at the fyrste takyng vp, nedeth litle breakyng and handlyng, but is fitte and gentle ynoughe for the saddle, feeldome or neuer proueth well, euen so that bowe whyche at the fyrste byinge, wythout any more prooffe and trimmyng, is fit and easie to shoote in, shall neyther be profitable to laste longe nor yet pleasaunt to shoote well. And therefore as a yonge horse full of corage, wyth handlyng and breakinge, is brought vnto a sure pace and goyng, so shall a newe bowe fresshe and quicke of caste, by sinkyng and cuttyng, be brought to a stedfast shootyng. And an easie and gentle bow whan it is newe, is not mucche vnylike a softe spirited

boye when he is younge. But yet as of an vnurlic boye with right handlyng, proueth ofteneft of al a well ordered man; fo of an vnfit and staffyfh bow with good trimming, muſte nedes folowe alwayes a ſtedfaſt ſhotynge bowe.

And ſuche a perfite bowe, whiche neuer wyll deceyue a man, excepte a man deceyue it, muſt be had for that perfecte ende, whyche you looke for in ſhootinge.

Phi. Well Toxophile, I ſee wel you be cunninger in this gere than I: but put caſe that I haue thre or ſower ſuche good bowes, pyked and dreſſed, as you nowe ſpeke of, yet I do remembre yat manye learned men do ſaye, that it is eaſier to gette a good thyng, than to ſaue and keepe a good thyng, wherefore if you can teache me as concernyng that poynte, you haue ſatiffyed me plentifullye as concernynge a bowe.

Cor. Trulye it was the nexte thyng that I woulde haue come vnto, for ſo the matter laye.

Whan you haue broughte youre bowe to ſuche a poynte, as I ſpake of, than you muſt haue an herden or wullen cloth waxed, wherwith euery day you muſt rubbe and chaſe your bowe, tyll it ſhyne and glytter withall. Whyche thyng ſhall cauſe it bothe to be cleane, well fauoured, goodlye of coloure, and ſhall alſo bryng as it were a cruſte, ouer it, that is to ſay, ſhall make it euery where on the outſyde, ſo ſlyppery and harde, that neyther any weete or wether can enter to hurte it, nor yet any freat or pynche, be able to byte vpon it: but that you ſhal do it great wrong before you breake it. This muſt be done oftentimes but ſpecially when you come from ſhootynge.

Beware alſo whan you ſhoote, of youre ſhaft hedes, dagger, knyues, or agglettes, leſt they race your bowe, a thing as I ſayde before, bothe vnſemely to looke on, and alſo daungerous for freates. Take hede alſo of miſtie and dankyſhe dayes, whiche ſhal hurte a bowe, more than any rayne. For then you muſte eyther alway rub it, or els leaue ſhootynge.

Your bowecaſe (this I dyd not promiſe to ſpeake of,

bycause it is without the nature of shoot-
 ynge, or els I shoulde truble me wyth Bowcase.
 other thinges infinite more : yet feing it is a sauegarde
 for the bowe, somethynge I wyll saye of it) youre bowe-
 case I saye, yf you ryde forth, muste neyther be to
 wyde for youre bowes, for so shall one clap vpon an
 other, and hurt them, nor yet so straye that scarfe they
 can be thrust in, for that woulde laye them on syde
 and wynde them. A bowecase of ledder, is not the
 best, for that is ofttymes moyste which hurteth the
 bowes very much. Therfore I haue sene good shooters
 which would haue for euerye bowe, a fere case made
 of wollen clothe, and than you maye putte. iiii. or. iiii.
 of them so cased, into a ledder case if you wyll. This
 wollen case shall bothe kepe them in funder, and also
 wylle kepe a bowe in his full strengthe, that it neuer
 gyue for any wether. At home these wood cases be
 verye good for bowes to stand in. But take hede yat
 youre bowe stande not to nere a stone wall, for that
 wyll make hym moyste and weke, nor yet to nere any
 fier for that wyll make him shorte and brittle. And
 thus muche as concernyng the sauynge and keping of
 our bowe ; nowe you shall heare what thynges ye must
 auoyde, for feare of breakyng your bowe.

A shooter chaunfeth to breake his bowe commonly.
 iiii. wayes, by the strynge, by the shafte, by draw-
 yng to far, and by freates ; By the stryng as I sayde
 afore, whan the strynge is eyther to shorte, to long,
 not surely put on, wyth one wap, or put croked on, or
 shorne in fundre wyth an euell nocke, or suffered to
 tarye ouer longe on. Whan the stryng fayles the bowe
 muste nedes breake, and specially in the myddes ;
 because bothe the endes haue nothyng to stop them ;
 but whippes so far backe, that the belly must nedes
 violentlye rise vp, the whyche you shall well perceyue
 in bendyng of a bowe backward. Therfore a bowe
 that foloweth the strynge is least hurt with breakyng of
 strynges. By the shafte a bowe is broken ether when
 it is to short, and so you set it in your bow or when

the nocke breakes for lytleneſſe, or when the ſtrynge ſlyppes wythoute the nocke for wydenefſe, than you poule it to your eare and lettes it go, which muſt nedes breake the ſhaſte at the leaſte, and putte ſtringe and bowe and al in ieopardy, bycauſe the ſtrength of the bowe hath nothyng in it to ſtop the violence of it.

Thys kynde of breakynge is mooſte periloſe for the ſtanders by, for in ſuch a caſe you ſhall ſe ſometyme the ende of a bow flye a hoole ſcore from a man, and that mooſt commonly, as I haue marked oſt the vpper ende of the bowe. The bowe is drawne to far. ii. wayes. Eyther when you take a longer ſhaſte then your owne, or els when you ſhyfte your hand to low or to hye for shootynge far. Thys waye pouleth the backe in ſunder, and then the bowe fleethe in manye peces.

So when you ſe a bowe broken, hauynge the bellye riſen vp both wayes or tone, the ſtringe brake it. When it is broken in twoo peces in a maner euen of and ſpecyallye in the vpper ende, the ſhaſte nocke brake it.

When the backe is pouled a ſunder in manye peeces to farre drawynge, brake it.

Theſe tokens eyther alwayes be trewe or els verye feldome myſſe.

The fourthe thyng that breketh a bow is fretes, whych make a bowe redye and apte to breake by any of the. iii. wayes afore Fretes. ſayde. Fretes be in a ſhaſt as well as in a bowe, and they be muche lyke a Canker, crepyng and encreaſynge in thoſe places in a bowe, whyche be weaker then other. And for thys purpoſe muſt your bowe be well trymmed and piked of a conning man that it may come rounde in trew compaſſe euery where. For fretes you muſt beware, yf youre bow haue a knot in the backe, leſt the places whyche be nexte it, be not alowed ſtrong ynoughe to bere with the knotte, or elles the ſtronge knotte ſhall freate the weake places nexte it. Fretes be fyrſt litle pinchefe, the whych when you perceauē, pike the places about the pinches, to make them ſomewhat weker, and as

well commynge as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall dye, and neuer encrease farther in to great freates.

Freates begynne many tymes in a pin, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it muste nedes be weke, and bycause it is weake, therefore it freates.

Good bowyers therefore do rayse euery pyn and alowe it moore woode for feare of freatyng.

Agayne bowes moost commonlye freate vnder the hande, not so muche as some men suppose for the moistnesse of the hande, as for the heete of the hand: the nature of heate sayeth Aristotle is to lowse, and not to knyt fast, and the more lowser the more weaker, the weaker, the redier to freate.

A bowe is not well made, whych hath not wood plentye in the hande. For yf the endes of the bowe be staffyshe, or a mans hande any thyng hote the bellye must nedes sone frete. Remedie for fretes to any purpose I neuer hard tell of any, but onelye to make the freated place as stronge or stronger then any other. To fill vp the freate with lytle sheuers of a quill and glewe (as some say wyll do wel) by reason must be starke nought.

For, put case the freete dyd cease then, yet the cause which made it freate a fore (and that is weakenesse of the place) bicause it is not taken away must nedes make it freate agayne. As for cutting out of freates wythe all maner of pecynge of bowes I wyll cleane exclude from perfite shootynge. For peced bowes be muche lyke owlde housen, whyche be more chargeable to repayre, than commodiouse to dwell in. Agayne to swadle a bowe much about wyth bandes, verye seldome dothe anye good, excepte it be to kepe downe a spel in the backe, otherwyse bandes eyther nede not when the bow is any thinge worthe, or els boote not when it is marde and past best. And although I knowe meane and poore shooters, wyll vse peced and banded bowes sometyme bycause they are not able to get better when they woulde, yet I am sure yf they consyder it well, they shall fynde it, bothe lesse charge

and more pleasure to ware at any tyme a couple of shyllinges of a new bowe than to bestowe. x. d. of peacynge an olde bowe. For better is coste vpon somewhat worth, than spence vpon nothing worth. And thys I speke also bycause you woulde haue me referre all to perfynesse in shootynge.

Moreouer there is an other thyng, whyche wyl sone cause a bowe be broken by one of the. iii. wayes whych be first spoken of, and that is shotyng in winter, when there is any froste. Froste is wheresoeuer is any waterish humour, as is in al woodes, eyther more or lesse, and you knowe that al thynges frosen and lye, wyl rather breke than bende. Yet if a man must nedes shoote at any suche tyme, lette hym take hys bowe, and bryng it to the fyre, and there by litle and litle, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, whiche shall bring it to that poynt, yat he maye shote safelye ynough in it. This rubbyng with waxe, as I sayde before, is a great succour, agaynst all wete and moystnesse.

In the fyeldes also, in goyng betwyxt the pricks eyther wyth your hande, or elles wyth a clothe you muste keepe your bowe in suche a temper. And thus muche as concernynge youre bowe, howe fyrste to knowe what wood is best for a bowe, than to chose a bowe, after to trim a bowe, agayne to keepe it in goodnesse, laste of al, howe to saue it from al harm and euylnesse.

And although many men can saye more of a bow yet I trust these thynges be true, and almoste sufficient for the knowlege of a perfecte bowe.

Phi. Surelye I beleue so, and yet I coulde haue hearde you talke longer on it: althogh I can not se, what maye be sayd more of it. Therefore excepte you wyl pause a whyle, you may go forwarde to a shafte.

Cor. What shaftes were made of, in oulde tyme authours do not so manifestlye shewe, as
Hero. entep.
 of bowes. Herodotus doth tel, that in the flood of Nilus, ther was a beast, called a water horse, of whose skinne after it was dried, the Egyptians made

shaftes, and dartes on. The tree called *Sen. Hipp.*
Cornus was so common to make shaftes of, that in good
 authours of ye latyn tongue, *Cornus* is taken for a shafte,
 as in Seneca, and that place of Virgill, *Virg. enci. 9.*

Volat Italia Cornus.

Yet of all thynges that euer I warked of olde authours,
 either greke or latin, for shaftes to be made of, there
 is nothing so common as reedes. Herodotus in def-
 crybynge the mightie hooft of Xerxes doth *In Polym.*
 tell that thre great contries vfed shaftes
 made of a rede, the Aethiopians, the Lycians (whose
 shaftes lacked fethers, where at I maruayle moste of
 all) and the men of Inde. The shaftes in
 Inde were verye longe, a yarde and an *Arrianus. 8.*
 halfe, as Arrianus doth saye, or at the *Q. Curt. 8.*
 least a yarde. as Q. Curtius doth saye, and
 therfore they gaue ye greater strype, but yet bycause
 they were so long, they were the more vnhanfome, and
 lesse profitable to the men of Inde, as Curtius doeth tell.

In Crete and Italie, they vfed to haue their shaftes
 of rede also. The best reede for shaftes grewe in
 Inde, and in Rhenus a flood of Italy. *Plin. 16. 36.*

But bycause suche shaftes be neyther
 easie for Englishe men to get, and yf they were gotten
 scarce profitable for them to vse, I wyll lette them
 passe, and speake of those shaftes whyche Englysh
 men at this daye moste commonly do approue and
 allowe.

A shaft hath three principall partes, the stele, the
 fethers, and the head: whereof euerye one muste be
 feuerallye spoken of.

¶ Steles be made of dyuerse woodes. as.

Brafell.
 Turkie wood.
 Fusticke.
 Sugercheste.
 Hardbeame.
 Byrche.

Affhe.
 Ooke.
 Seruis tree.
 Hulder.
 Blackthorne.
 Beche.
 Elder.
 Aſpe.
 Salow.

Theſe wooddes as they be moſt commonly vſed, ſo they be mooſte fit to be vſed: yet ſome one fyttter then an other for diuers mennes ſhotinge, as ſhalbe toulde afterwarde. And in this pointe as in a bowe you muſte truſte an honeſt fletcher. Neuertheleſſe al though I can not teache you to make a bowe or a ſhaſte, whiche belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to comme to theyr lyuyng, yet wyll I ſhewe you ſome tokens to knowe a bowe and a ſhaſte, whiche per- taineth to an Archer to come to good ſhootyng.

A ſtele muſte be well ſeaſoned for Caſtinge, and it muſt be made as the grayne lieth and as it groweth or els it wyl neuer flye clene, as clothe cut ouertwhart and agaynſte the wulle, can neuer hoofe a manne cleane. A knotty ſtele maye be ſuffered in a bygge ſhaſte, but for a lytle ſhaſte it is nothyng fit, bothe bycauſe it wyll neuer flye far, and beſydes that it is euer in danger of breakyng, it ſlieth not far bycauſe the ſtrengthe of the ſhoote is hindred and ſtopped at the knotte, euen as a ſtone caſt in to a plaine euen ſtil water, wyll make the water moue a greate ſpace, yet yf there be any whirlyng plat in the water, the mouyng ceaseth when it commeth at the whirlyng plat, whyche is not muche vnylike a knotte in a ſhaſte yf it be conſidered wel. So euery thyng as it is plaine and ſtreight of hys owne nature ſo is it fitteſt for far mouyng. Therefore a ſtele whyche is harde to ſtande in a bowe, without knotte, and ſtreighte (I meane not artificiallye ſtreighte as the fletcher dothe make it, but

naturally streight as it groweth in the wood) is best to make a shaft of, eyther to go cleane, fly far or stand surely in any wedder. Now howe big, how small, how heuye, how lyght, how longe, how short, a shafte shoulde be particularlye for euerye man (seyng we must taulke of the generall nature of shootyng) can not be toulde no more than you Rhethoricians can appoynt any one kynde of wordes, of sentences, of fygures fyt for euery matter, but euen as the man and the matter requyreth so the fitteft to be vsed. Therefore as concernyng those contraries in a shafte, euery man muste auoyde them and draw to the meane of them, whyche meane is best in al thynges. Yet yf a man happen to offende in any of the extremes it is better to offend in want and scantnesse, than in to muche and outragiouse exceedyng. As it is better to haue a shafte a lytle to shorte than ouer longe, somewhat to lyght, than ouer lumpysshe, a lytle to small, than a greate deale to big, whiche thyng is not onely trewlye sayde in shootyng, but in all other thynges that euer man goeth aboute, as in eatyng, taulkyng, and all other thynges lyke, whych matter was onse excellentlye disputed vpon, in the Scooles, you knowe when.

And to offend, in these contraries commeth much yf men take not hede, throughe the kynd of wood, wherof the shaft is made: Ffor some wood belongs to ye excedyng part, some to ye scant part, some to ye meane, as Brasell, Turkiewood, Fusticke, Sugar cheste, and such lyke, make deade, heuy lumpish, hobblyng shaftes. Againe Hulder, black thorne, Serues tree, Beche, Elder, Aspe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr wekenes or lyghtenesse, make holow, starting, studding, gaddyng shaftes. But Birche, Hardbeme, some Ooke, and some Asshe, beyng bothe stronge ynoughe to stande in a bowe, and also lyght ynoughe to flye far, are best for a meane, whiche is to be soughte oute in euery thinge. And althoughe I knowe that some men shoote so stronge, that the deade woodes be lyghte ynoughe for them, and other some

so weeke, that the lowfe woodes be lykewyse for them bigge ynoughe yet generally for the moost parte of men, the meane is the best. And so to conclude that, is alwayes beste for a man, whiche is metest for him. Thus no wood of his owne nature, is eyther to lyght or to heuy, but as the shooter is him selfe whyche dothe vse it. For that shafte whiche one yeaere for a man is to lyghte and scuddinge, for the same selfe man the next yeaere may chaunce be to heuy and hobblynge. Therefore can not I expresse, excepte generally, what is best wood for a shaft, but let euery man when he knoweth his owne strength and the nature of euery wood, prouyde and fyt himselfe thereafter. Yet as concerning sheaffe Arrooue for war (as I suppose) it were better to make them of good Asshe, and not of Aspe, as they be now a dayes. For of all other woodes that euer I proued Asshe being big is swiftest and agayne heuy to giue a greate stripe with all, whyche Aspe shall not doo. What heuynes doth in a stripe euery man by experience can tell, therefore Asshe being both swyfter and heuier is more fit for sheaffe Arrooes then Aspe, and thus muche for the best wood for shaftes.

Agayne lykewyse as no one wood can be greatlye meet for all kynde of shaftes, no more can one facion of the stele be fit for euery shooter. For those that be lytle brested and big toward the hede called by theyr lykenesse taperfashion, reshe growne, and of some merrie fellowes bobtayles, be fit for them whiche shote vnder hande bycause they shoote wyth a softe lowfe, and stresses not a shafte muche in the breste where the weyghte of the bowe lyethe as you maye perceyue by the werynge of euery shafte.

Agayne the bygge brested shafte is fytte for hym, which shoteth right afore him, or els the brest being weke shoulde neuer wythstande that strong piththy kynde of shootynge, thus the vnderhande must haue a small breste, to go cleane awaye oute of the bowe, the forehande muste haue a bigge breste to bere the

great myghte of the bowe. The shafte must be made rounde nothyng flat wyth out gal or wemme, for thys purpose. For bycause roundnesse (whether you take example in heauen or in earthe) is fittest shappe and forme both for fast mouing and also for sone percynge of any thyng. And therefore Aristotle saythe that nature hath made the raine to be round, bycause it shoulde the easelyer enter throughe the ayre.

The nocke of the shafte is dyuerfly made, for some be greate and full, some hansom and lytle, some wyde, some narrow, some depe, some shalowe, some round, some longe, some wyth one nocke, some wyth a double nocke, wherof euery one hathe hys propertye.

The greate and full nocke, maye be well felte, and many wayes they saue a shafte from brekyng. The hansom and lytle nocke wyll go clene awaye frome the hand, the wyde nocke is noughte, both for breakyng of the shafte and also for soden slyppynge oute of the stryng when the narrowe nocke doth auoide bothe those harmes. The depe and longe nocke is good in warre for sure kepyng in of the stryng. The shalow, and rownde nocke is best for our purpose in prickyng for cleane delyueraunce of a shoote. And double nockyng is vsed for double fuerty of the shaft. And thus far as concernyng a hoole stele.

Peeцыng of a shafte with brasell and holie, or other heauy woodes, is to make the ende compasse heauy with the fethers in fliyg, for the stedfaster shotyng. For if the ende were plumpe heauy wyth lead and the wood nexte it lyghte, the head ende woulde euer be downwardes, and neuer flye strayght.

Two poyntes in peeцыng be ynough, lest the moystnes of the earthe enter to moche into the peeцыng, and so leuse the glue. Therefore many poyntes be more pleasaunt to the eye, than profitable for the vse.

Summe vse to peece theyr shaftes in the nocke wyth brasel, or holie, to counterwey, with the head, and I haue sene summe for the same purpose, bore an hole a

lytle bineth the nocke, and put leade in it. But yet none of these wayes be anye thing needful at al, for ye nature of a fether in flying, if a man marke it wel, is able to bear vp a wonderful weyght: and I thinke fuche peecing came vp first, thus: whan a good Archer hath broken a good shafte, in the fethers, and for the fantasie he hath had to it, he is lothe to leese it, and therfore doeth he peece it. And than by and by other eyther bycause it is gaye, or elles because they wyll haue a shafte lyke a good archer, cutteth theyre hole shaftes, and peeceth them agayne: A thyng by my iudgement, more costlye than nedefull.

And thus haue you heard what wood, what fasshion, whatnocking, what peecynge a stele muste haue: Nowe foloweth the fetherynge.

¶ Hi. I woulde neuer haue thought you could haue sayd halfe so muche of a stele, and I thynke as concerning the litle fether and the playne head, there is but lytle to saye.

¶ Cor. Lytle, yes trulye: for there is no one thing, in al shoting, so moche to be loked on as the fether. For fyrste a question maye be asked, whether any other thing besyde a fether, be fit for a shaft or no? if a fether onelye be fit, whether a goose fether onely, or no? yf a goose fether be best, then whether there be any difference, as concernynge the fether of an oulde goose, and a yonge goose: a gander, or a goose: a fennye goose, or an vplandish goose. Againe which is best fether in any goose, the ryght wing or the left wing, the pinion fether, or any other fether: a whyte, blacke, or greye fether? Thirdly, in setting on of your fether, whether it be pared or drawen with a thicke rybbe, or a thinne rybbe (the rybbe is ye hard quill whiche deuydeth the fether) a long fether better or a shorte, set on nere the nocke, or farre from the nocke, set on streight, or som what bowyng? and whether one or two fethers runne on the bowe. Fourthly in couling or sheryng, whether high or lowe, whether somewhat swyne backed (I muste vse

shoters wordes) or fadle backed, whether rounde, or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any tyme ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked.

Phi. Surely Toxophile, I thynke manye fletcheres (although daylye they haue these thinges in vre) if they were asked sodeynly, what they coulede saye of a fether, they could not saye so moch. But I praye you let me heare you more at large, expresse those thynges in a fether, the whiche you packed vp in so narrowe a rowme. And fyrst whether any other thyng may be vsed for a fether or not.

Tor. That was ye fyrste poynte in dede, and bycause there foloweth many after, I wyll hye apace ouer them, as one that had manye a myle to ride. Shaftes to haue had alwayes fethers Plinius Pl. 16. 36.
in Latin, and Iulius Pollux in Greke, do I. Pol 1. 10.
playnlye shewe, yet onely the Lycians I Her. Polym.
reade in Herodotus to haue vsed shaftes without fedders. Onelye a fedder is fit for a shafte for. ii. causes, fyrste bycause it is leathe weake to giue place to the bowe, than bycause it is of that nature, that it wyll starte vp after ye bow. So, Plate, wood or horne can not serue, bycause the[y] wil not gyue place. Againe, Cloth, Paper, or Parchment can not serue, bycause they wyll not ryse after the bowe, therefore a fedder is onely mete, bycause it onelye wyl do bothe. Nowe to looke on the fedders of all maner of birdes, you shal se some so lowe weke and shorte, some so course, stoore and harde, and the rib so brickle, thin and narrow, that it can nether be drawen, pared, nor yet well set on, that except it be a swan for a dead shafte (as I knowe some good Archers haue vsed) or a ducke for a flyghte whiche lastes but one shoote, there is no fether but onelye of a goose that hath all commodities in it. And trewelye at a short but, which some man doth vse, ye Pecoock fether doth seldome kepe vp ye shaft eyther ryght or leuel, it is so roughe and heuy, so that many men which haue taken them vp for gayenesse, hathe layde them downe agayne for

profyte, thus for our purpose, the Goose is best fether, for the best shoter.

¶hi. No that is not so, for the best shoter that euer was vsed other fethers.

Cor. Ye are so cunninge in shootynge I praye you who was that.

¶hi. Hercules whyche had hys shaftes fethered with Egles fethers as Hesiodus dothe saye. Hesiod. in Scuto. Her.

Cor. Well as for Hercules, seynge nether water nor lande, heauen nor hell, coulde scarfe contente hym to abyde in, it was no meruell thoughe a sely poore gouse fether could not plesse him to shoote wythal, and agayne as for Egles they flye so hye and builde so far of, yat they be very hard to come by. Yet welfare the gentle gouse which bringeth to a man euen to hys doore so manye excedyng commodities. A Gouse.

For the gouse is mans comferte in war and in peace slepyng and wakyng. What prayse so euer is gyuen to shootynge the gouse may chalenge the beste parte in it. How well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe easelye dothe she make a man lye in hys bed? How fit euen as her fethers be onelye for shootynge, so be her quylles fytted onelye for wrytyng.

¶hilo. In deade Toxophyle that is the beste prayse you gaue to a gouse yet, and surelye I would haue sayde you had bene to blame yf you had ouerskypte it.

Cor. The Romaynes I trowe Philologe not so muche bycause a gouse wyth crynging saued theyr Capitolum and head toure wyth their golden Iupiter as Propertius doth say very pretely in this verse.

Anseris et tutum uoce fuisse Iouem.

Id est.

Propertius

Theues on a night had stolne Iupiter, had a gouse not a kekede.

Dyd make a golden gouse and set hir in the top of ye Capitolum, and appoynted also the Censors to alow out of ye common hutche yearly stipendes for ye findinge of certayne Geese, ye Romaynes did not I saye giue al this honor to a gouse

Lilius 1.
Dec. 5.

for yat good dede onely, but for other infinit mo which comme dayly to a man byn Geefe, and surely yf I should declame in ye prayse of any maner of beste lyuyng, I would chose a gouse, But the gouse hath made vs flee to farre from oure matter. Nowe sir ye haue hearde howe a fether must be had, and that a goose fether onely. It foloweth of a yong gose and an ould, and the residue belonging to a fether: which thing I wyll shortlye course ouer: wherof, when you knowe the properties, you maye fitte your shaftes accordyng to your shotyng, which rule you must obserue in all other thynges too, bycause no one fashion or quantitie can be fitte for euery man, no more than a shooe or a cote can be. The ould goose fether is styffe and stronge, good for a wynde, and fytest for a deed shaft: the yonge goose fether is weake and fyne, best for a swyfte shaft, and it must be couled at the first shering, somewhat hye, for with shoting, it wyll fattle and faule very moche. The same thing (although not so moche) is to be con- sydered in a goose and a gander. A fenny goose, euen as her flesh is blacker, stoorer, vnholsomer, so is her fether for the same cause courser stoorer and rougher, and therfore I haue heard very good fletchers saye, that the seconde fether in some place is better then the pinion in other some. Betwixt the winges is lytle difference, but that you must haue diuerse shaftes of one flight, fethered with diuerse winges, for diuerse windes: for if the wynde and the fether go both one way the shaft wyll be caryed to moche. The pinion fethers as it hath the firste place in the winge, so it hath the fyrst place in good fetheringe. You maye knowe it afore it be pared, by a bought whiche is in it, and agayne when it is colde, by the thinnesse aboue, and the thicknesse at the ground, and also by the stifnes and finesse which wyll cary a shaft better, faster and further, euen as a fine sayle cloth doth a shypp.

The coulour of the fether is leste to be regarded,

yet somewhat to be looked on: for a good whyte, you haue sometye an yll greye. Yet surelye it standeth with good reason to haue the cocke fether black or greye, as it were to gyue a man warning to nocke ryght. The cocke fether is called that which standeth aboue in ryght nocking, which if you do not obserue the other fethers must nedes run on the bowe, and so marre your shote. And thus farre of the goodnesse and choyse of your fether: now foloweth the setting on. Wherin you must looke that your fethers be not drawn for hastinesse, but pared euen and streyght with diligence. The fletcher draweth a fether when he hath but one swappe at it with his knyfe, and then playneth it a lytle, with rubbynge it ouer his knyfe. He pareth it when he taketh leysure and hede to make euery parte of the ryb apt to stand streight, and euen on vpon the stele. This thing if a man take not heede on, he maye chaunce haue cause to saye so of his fletcher, as in dressinge of meate is comunelye spoken of Cookes: and that is, that God sendeth vs good fethers, but the deuyll noughtie Fletchers. Yf any fletchers heard me saye thus, they wolde not be angrye with me, excepte they were yll fletchers: and yet by reason, those fletchers too, ought rather to amend them selues for doing yll, then be angry with me for saying truth. The ribbe in a styffe fether may be thinner, for so it wyll stande cleaner on: but in a weake fether you must leaue a thicker ribbe, or els yf the ryb which is the foundation and ground, wherein nature hath fet euerye clesse of the fether, be taken to nere the fether, it muste nedes folowe, that the fether shall faule, and droupe downe, euen as any herbe doeth whyche hath his roote to nere taken on with a spade. The lengthe and shortnesse of the fether, serueth for diuers shaftes, as a long fether for a long heauy, or byg shafte, the shorte fether for the contrary. Agayne the shorte may stande farther, the longe nerer the nocke. Youre fether muste stande almooste streyght on, but yet after that sorte, yat it maye turne

rounde in flynge. And here I consider the wonderfull nature of shootynge, whiche standeth all togyther by that fashion, which is moste apte for quicke mouynge, and that is by roundenesse. For firste the bowe must be gathered rounde, in drawyng it must come rounde compasse, the stryngge muste be rounde, the stele rounde, the best nocke rounde, the feather shorne somewhat rounde, the shafte in flyenge, muste turne rounde, and if it flye far, it flyeth a rounde compace. For eyther aboue or benethe a rounde compace, hyndereth the flynge. Moreouer bothe the fletcher in makynge your shafte, and you in nockynge your shafte, muste take heede that two fethers equallye runne on the bowe. For yf one fether runne alone on the bowe, it shal quickly be worne, and shall not be able to matche with the other fethers, and agayne at the lowse, yf the shafte be lyght, it wyl starte, if it be heuye, it wil hoble. And thus as concernyng setting on of your fether. Nowe of coulynge.

To there a shafte hyghe or lowe, muste be as the shafte is, heauy or lyght, great or lytle, long or short. The swyne backed fashion, maketh the shaft deader, for it gathereth more ayer than the saddle backed, and therefore the saddle backe is surer for daunger of wether, and fitter for smothe fliing. Agayn to there a shaft rounde, as they were wount somtime to do, or after the triangle fashion, whyche is muche vsed nowe a dayes, bothe be good. For roundnesse is apte for flynge of his owne nature, and al maner of triangle fashion, (the sharpe poynte goyng before) is also naturally apte for quicke entrynge, and therefore sayth Cicero, that cranes taught by nature, obserue in flynge a triangle fashion alwayes, De nat. deor. bycause it is so apte to perce and go thorowe the ayer wythall. Laste of all pluckyng of fethers is noughte, for there is no fuerty in it, therefore let euery archer haue such shaftes, that he maye bothe knowe them and trust them at euery chaunge of wether. Yet if they must nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as

can be, for so shal they be the lesse vnconstante. And thus I haue knit vp in as shorte a rounge as I coulede, the best fethers fetheringe and coulinge of a shafte.

¶ Hi. I thynke surelye you haue so taken vp the matter wyth you, yat you haue leste nothyng behinde you. Nowe you haue brought a shafte to the head, whiche if it were on, we had done as concerning all instrumentes belongyng to shootyng.

Cor. Necessitie, the inuentour of all goodnesse (as all authours in a maner, doo saye) amonges all other thinges inuented a shaft heed, firste to saue the ende from breakyng, then it made it sharpe to stycke better, after it made it of strong matter, to last better: Last of all experience and wysedome of men, hathe brought it to suche a perfitnesse, that there is no one thing so profitable, belongyng to artillarie, either to stryke a mannes enemye forer in warre, or to shoote nerer the marke at home, then is a fitte heed for both purposes. For if a shaft lacke a heed, it is worth nothyng for neither vse. Therefore feinge heedes be so necessary, they must of necessitie, be wel looked vpon. Heedes for warre, of longe tyme haue ben made, not onely of diuers matters, but also of diuers fashions. The Troians had heedes of yron, as this verse spoken of Pandarus, sheweth :

Vp to the pappe his string did he pull, his shaft to the harde yron.

Iliados. 4.

The Grecians had heedes of brasse, as Vlysses shaftes were heeded, when he slewe Antinous, and the other wowers of Penelope.

Quite through a dore, flewe a shafte with a brasse head.

Odysse. 21.

It is playne in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandarus shafte, yat the heedes were not glewed on, but tyed on with a string, as the commentaries in Greke playnelye tell.

Iliados. 4.

And therefore shoters at that tyme to carry their shaftes withoute heedes, vntill they occupied them, and than

set on an heade as it apereth in Homer the. xxi. booke *Odyssci*, where Penelope brought Vlixes bowe downe amonges the gentlemen, whiche came on wowing to her, that he whiche was able to bende it and drawe it, might inioye her, and after her folowed a mayde sayth Homer, carienge
Odysse. 21.
 a bagge full of heades, bothe of iron and brasse.

The men of Scythia, vsed heades of brasse. The men of Inde vsed heades of yron. The Ethiopians vsed heades of a harde sharpe stone, as
Clio.
 bothe Herodotus and Pollux do tel. Hero
 The Germanes as Cornelius Tacitus doeth Polym
 saye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and many countryes bothe of olde tyme and now, vse heades of horne, but of all other yron and stile muste nedes be the fittest for heades.

Iulius Pollux calleth otherwyse than we doe, where the fethers be the head, and that whyche
I. Pol. 1: 10.
 we call the head, he calleth the poynte.

Fashion of heades is diuers and that of olde tyme: two maner of arrowe heades sayeth Pollux, was vsed in olde tyme. The one he calleth *ὄγκινος* descrybynge it thus, hauyng two poyntes or barbes, looking backwarde to the stele and the fethers, which surely we call in Englishe a brode arrowe head or a swalowe tayle. The other he calleth *γλῶχis*, hauing. ii. poyntes stretchyng forward, and this Englysh men do call a forke-head: bothe these two kyndes of heades, were vsed in Homers dayes, for Teucer vsed forked heades, sayinge thus to Agamemnon.

Eighte good shafles haue I shot siþe I came, eche one wyth a forke heade.
Iliad. 8.

Pandarus heades and Vlysses heades were broode arrow heades, as a man maye learne in Homer that woulde be curiouse in knowyng that matter. Hercules vsed forked heades, but yet they had thre pointes or forkes, when other mennes had but twoo.
Plutarchus
in Crasso.
 The Parthyans at that great battell where

they slewe ritche Crassus and his sonne vsed brode Arrowe heades, whyche slacke so fore that the Romaines could not poule them out agayne. Commodus the Emperoure vsed forked heades, whose facion Herodiane doeth lyuely and naturally describe, sayinge that they were lyke the shap of a new mone wherwyth he would smite of the heade of a birde and neuer misse, other facion of heades haue not I red on. Our Englyshe heades be better in war than eyther forked heades, or brode arrowe heades. For firste the ende beyng lyghter they flee a great deele the faster, and by the same reason gyueth a far forer stripe. Yea and I suppose if ye same lytle barbes whiche they haue, were clene put away, they shuld be far better. For thys euery man doth graunt, yat a shaft as long as it flyeth, turnes, and whan it leueth turnyng it leueth goyng any farther. And euery thyng that enters by a turnyng and boring facion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters, as a knife thoughe it be sharpe yet because of the edges, wil not bore so wel as a bodkin, for euery rounde thyng enters beste and therefore nature, sayeth Aristotle, made the rayne droppes rounde for quicke Percyng the ayer. Thus, eyther shaftes turne not in flyeng, or els our flatte arrowe heades stoppe the shafte in entryng.

Phi. But yet Toxophile to holde your communication a lytle I suppose the flat heade is better, bothe bycause it maketh a greter hoole, and also bycause it sticks faster in.

Cor. These two reasons as they be bothe trewe, so they be both nought. For syrst the lesse hoole, yf it be depe, is the worst to heale agayn: when a man shoteth at hys enemy, he desyreth rather yat it should enter far, than stick fast. For what remedye is it I praye you for hym whych is smitten with a depe wounde to poull out the shaft quickly, except it be to haste his death spedely? thus heades whyche make a lytle hole and depe, be better in war, than those which make a great hole and sticke fast in.

Iulius Pollux maketh mencion of certayne kindes of heades for war which beare fyre in them, and scripture also speaketh somewhat of the same. Herodotus doth tell a wonderfull pollicy to be done by Xerxes what tyme he beseged the great Toure in Athenes: He made his Archers binde there shafte heades aboute wyth towes, and than set it on fyre and shoote them, whych thyng done by many Archers set all the places on fyre, whych were of matter to burne; and besydes that dased the men wythin, so yat they knewe not whyther to turne them. But to make an ende of all heades for warre I woulde wyshe that the head makers of Englande shoulde make their sheafe arrowe heades more harder poynted then they be: for I my selfe haue sene of late such heades set vpon sheafe Arrowes, as ye officers yf they had sene them woulde not haue bene content wyth all.

Pollux. 7.

Psal. 7.

Hero. Vran.

Now as concernyng heades for pryckying, which is oure purpose, there be dyuerse kyndes, some be blonte heades, some sharpe, some both blonte and sharpe. The blont heades men vse bycause they perceauce them to be good, to kepe a lengthe wyth all, they kepe a good lengthe, bycause a man poulethe them no ferder at one tyme than at another. For in felynge the plombe ende alwayes equallye he may lowse them. Yet in a winde, and agaynste the wynd the wether hath so much power on the brode end, yat no man can kepe no fure lengthe, wyth such a heade. Therefore a blont hede in a caulme or downe a wind is very good, otherwyse none worse.

Sharpe heades at the ende wythout anye shoulders (I call that the shoulder in a heade whyche a mans finger shall feeles afore it come to the poynte) wyll perche quyklye throughe a wynde, but yet it hath. ii. discommodities, the one that it wyll kepe no lengthe, it kepeth no lengthe, bycause no manne can poule it certaynly as far one tyme as at another: it is not drawen certaynlye so far one tyme as at another,

bycause it lackethe shouldrynge wherwyth as wyth a sure token a man myghte be warned when to lowse, and also bycause menne are asfayde of the sharpe poynt for setting it in ye bow. The seconde incommoditie is when it is lyghted on ye ground, ye smal poynte shall at euery tyme be in ieopardye of hurtynge, whyche thyng of all other wyll fonest make the shafte lese the lengthe. Now when blonte heades be good to kepe a lengthe wythall, yet nought for a wynde, sharpe heades good to perche the wether wyth al, yet nought for a length, certayne headmakers dwellyng in London perceyuyng the commoditie of both kynde of heades ioyned wyth a discommoditie, inuented newe files and other instrumentes where wyth [t]he[y] broughte heades for pryckynge to such a perfitnesse, that all the commodities of the twoo other heades should be put in one heade wyth out anye discommoditie at all. They made a certayne kynde of heades whyche men call hie rigged, creased, or shouldred heades, or syluer spone heades, for a certayne lykenesse that suche heades haue wyth the knob ende of some syluer spones.

These heades be good both to kepe a length withal and also to perche a wynde wythall, to kepe a length wythall bycause a man maye certaynly poule it to the shouldrynge euery shoote and no farther, to perche a wynde wythall bycause the pointe from the shoulder forwarde, breketh the wether as al other sharpe thynges doo. So the blonte shoulder seruethe for a sure lengthe kepyng, the poynte also is euer fit, for a roughe and greate wether Percyng. And thus much as shortlye as I could, as concernyng heades both for war and peace.

¶ But is there no cunning as concerning setting on of ye head?

Ans. Wel remembred. But that poynt belongeth to fletchers, yet you may desyre hym to set youre heade, full on, and close on. Ful on is whan the wood is be[n]t hard vp to the ende or stoppyng of the heade, close on, is when there is leste wood on euerye syde

the shafte, ynoughe to fyll the head withall, or when it is neyther to little nor yet to greate. If there be any faulte in any of these poyntes, ye head whan it lyghteth on any hard stone or grounde wil be in ieoperdy. eyther of breakynge, or els otherwyse hurtyng. Stoppyng of heades eyther wyth leade, or any thyng els, shall not nede now, bycause euery siluer spone, or showldred head is stopped of it selfe. Shorte heades be better than longe: For firste the longe head is worfe for the maker, to fyle strayght compase euery waye: agayne it is worfe for the fletcher to fet strayght on: thyrdlye it is alwayes in more ieoperdie of breakinge, whan it is on. And nowe I trowe Philologe, we haue done as concernynge all Instrumentes belongyng to shootynge, whiche euery fere archer ought, to prouyde for hym selfe. And there remayneth. ii. thynges behinde, whiche be generall or common to euery man the Wether and the Marke, but bicause they be so knit wyth shootynge strayght, or kepyng of a lengthe, I wyll deferre them to that place, and now we will come, (God wyll) to handle oure instrumentes, the thing that euery man desireth to do wel.

Phi. If you can teache me so well to handle these instrumentes as you haue described them, I suppose I shalbe an archer good ynough.

Cor. To learne any thing (as you knowe better than I Philologe) and speciallye to do a thing with a mannes handes, must be done if a man woulde be excellent, in his youthe. Yonge trees in gardens, which lacke al senses, and beastes without reason, when they be yong, may with handling and teaching, be brought to wonderfull thynges. And this is not onely true in natural thinges, but in artificiaall thinges to, as the potter most connyngly doth cast his pottes whan his claye is softe and workable, and waxe taketh printe whan it is warme, and leathie weke, not whan claye and waxe be hard and oulde: and euen so, euerye man in his youthe, bothe with witte and body is moste apte and pliable to receyue any cunnyng that shulde be taught hym.

This communication of teaching youthe, maketh me to remembre the right worshipfull and my singuler good mayster, Sir Humfrey Wingfelde, to whom nexte God, I ought to refer for his manifolde benefites bestowed on me, the poore talent of learnyng, whiche god hath lent me : and for his sake do I owe my seruice to all other of the name and noble house of the Wyngfeldes, bothe in woord and dede. Thys worshypfull man hath euer loued and vsed, to haue many children brought vp in learnynge in his house amonges whome I my selfe was one. For whom at terme tymes he woulde bryng downe from London bothe bowe and shaftes. And when they shuld playe he woulde go with them him selfe in to the fyelde, and se them shoote, and he that shot sayrest, shulde haue the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shot ilfauouredlye, shulde be mocked of his felowes, til he shot better.

Woulde to god all Englande had vsed or wolde vse to lay the foundation of youth, after the example of this worshipful man in bringyng vp chyl dren in the Booke and the Bowe : by whiche two thynges, the hole common welth both in peace and warre is cheselye ruled and defended wythall.

But to our purpose, he that muste come to this high perfectnes in shootyng which we speake of, muste nedes begin to learne it in hys youthe, the omitting of whiche thinge in Englande, both maketh fewer shooters, and also euery man that is a shoter, shote warfe than he myght, if he were taught.

Phi. Euen as I knowe that this is true, whiche you saye, euen so Toxophile, haue you quyte discouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from shootynge, seinge by this reason, no man yat hath not vsed it in his youthe can be excellent in it. And I suppose the same reason woulde discourage many other mo, yf they hearde you talke after this sorte.

Cor. This thyng Philologe, shall discourage no man that is wyse. For I wyll proue yat wisdome may worke the same thinge in a man, that nature doth in a chylde.

A chylde by thre thinges, is brought to excellencie. By Aptnesse, Desire, and Feare: Aptnesse maketh hym pliable lyke waxe to be formed and fashioned, euen as a man woulde haue hym. Desyre to be as good or better, than his felowes: and Feare of them whome he is vnder, wyl cause hym take great labour and payne with diligent hede, in learnynge any thinge, wherof procedeth at the laste excellency and perfectnesse.

A man maye by wysdome in learnynge any thing, and specially to shoote, haue thre lyke commodities also, wherby he maye, as it were become younge agayne, and so attayne to excellencie. For as a childe is apte by naturall youth, so a man by vsyng at the firste weake bowes, far vnderneath his strength, shal be as pliable and readye to be taught fayre shotyng as any chylde: and daylye vse of the same, shal both kepe hym in fayer shotyng, and also at ye last bryng hym to stronge shootynge.

And in ftede of the feruente desyre, which prooketh a chylde to be better than hys felowe, lette a man be as muche stirred vp with shamesfastnes to be worfe than all other. And the same place that feare hath in a chylde, to compell him to take peyne, the same hath loue of shotyng in a man, to cause hym forsake no labour, withoute whiche no man nor chylde can be excellent. And thus whatfoeuer a chylde may be taught by Aptnesse, Desire, and Feare, the same thing in shootynge, maye a man be taughte by weake bowes, Shamesfastnesse and Loue.

And hereby you may se that that is true whiche Cicero sayeth, that a man by vse, may be broughte to a newe nature. And this I dare be bould to saye, that any man whiche will wisely begynne, and constantlye perseuer in this trade of learnynge to shote, shal attayne to perfectnesse therein.

¶ *Thi.* This communication Toxophile, doeth please me verye well, and nowe I perceyue that mooste generally and chesly youthe muste be taughte to shoote, and secundarilye no man is debarred therfrom excepte it be

more thorough his owne negligence for bicause he wyll not learne, than any disabilitie, bicause he can not lerne.

Therefore seyng I wyll be glad to folowe your counsell in chofynge my bowe and other instrumentes, and also am ashamed that I can shote no better than I can, moreouer hauynge suche a loue toward shotynge by your good reasons to day, that I wyll forsake no labour in the exercise of the same, I beseeche you imagyn that we had bothe bowe and shaftes here, and teache me howe I should handle them, and one thyng I desyre you, make me as fayre an Archer as you can.

For thys I am sure in learnynge all other matters, nothyng is broughte to the moost profytable vse, which is not handled after the moost cumlye fashion. As masters of fence haue no stroke fit ether to hit an other or else to defende hym selfe, whyche is not ioyned wyth a wonderfull cumlinesse. A Cooke can not chop hys herbes neither quickelye nor hanfomlye excepte he kepe suche a mesure with hys choppyng kniues as woulde delyte a manne both to se hym and heare hym.

Euerye hand craft man that workes best for hys owne profyte, workes most semelye to other mens sight. Agayne in buyldynge a house, in makynge a shyppe, euery parte the more hanfomely, they be ioyned for profyt and laste, the more cumlye they be fashioned to euery mans syght and eye. Nature it selfe taught men to ioyne alwayes welsauourednesse with profytablenesse. As in man, that ioynt or pece which is by anye chaunce depriued of hys cumlynesse the same is also debarred of hys vse and profytablenesse.

As he that is gogle eyde and lokes a squinte hath both hys countenaunce clene marred, and hys sight fore blemmyshed, and so in all other members lyke. Moreouer what tyme of the yeare bryngeth mooste profyte wyth it for mans vse, the same also couereth and dekketh bothe earthe and trees wyth moost cumlynesse for mans pleasure. And that tyme whych takethe

awaye the pleasure of the grounde, carieth wyth hym also the profyt of the grounde, as euery man by experience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thynges there be whych haue no other ende, but onely cumlynesse, as payntyng, and Daunsing. And vertue it selfe is nothyng els but cumlynesse, as al Philosphers do agree in opinion, therfore seyng that whych is best done in anye matters, is alwayes moost cumlye done as both Plato and Cicero in manye places do proue, and daylye experience dothe teache in other thynges, I praye you as I sayde before teache me to shoote as fayre, and welfauouredly as you can imagen.

Tor. Trewlye Philologe as you proue verye well in other matters, the best shootyng, is alwayes the moost cumlye shootyng but thys you know aswell as I that Craffus shewethe in Cicero that as cumlynesse is the chefe poynt, and most to be sought for in all thynges, so cumlynesse onlye, can neuer be taught by any Arte or craft. But maye be perceyued well when it is done, not described wel how it should be done.

Yet neuerthelesse to comme to it there be manye waye whych wayes men haue assayde in other matters, as yf a man would folowe in learnyng to shoote faire, the noble paynter Zeuxes in payntyng Helena, whyche to make his Image bewtifull dyd chose out. v. of the fayrest maydes in al the countrie aboute, and in beholdyng them conceyued and drewe out suche an Image that it far exceded al other, bycause the comelynesse of them al was broughte in to one moost perfyte comelynesse: So lykewyse in shotyng yf a man, woulde set before hys eyes. v. or. vi. of the fayrest Archers that euer he saw shoote, and of one learne to stande, of a nother to drawe, of an other to lowse, and so take of euery man, what euery man coulde do best, I dare saye he shoulde come to suche a comlynesse as neuer man came to yet. As for an example, if the moost comely poynte in shootyng that Hewe Prophete the Kynges seruante hath and as my frendes Thomas and Raufe Cantrell doth vse with the moost semelye facyons that.

iii. or iiii. excellent Archers haue beside, were al ioyned in one, I am sure all men woulde wonder at ye excellencie of it. And this is one waye to learne to shoote fayre.

¶hi. This is very wel truly, but I praye you teache me somewhat of shootyng fayre youre selfe.

Cor. I can teache you to shoote fayre, euen as Socrates taught a man ones to knowe God, for when he axed hym what was God: naye sayeth he I can tell you better what God is not, as God is not yll, God is vnspeakeable, vnsearcheable and so forth: Euen lykewyse can I saye of fayre shootyng, it hath not this discommodite with it nor that discommoditie, and at last a man maye so shifte all the discommodities from shootyng that there shall be left no thyng behynde but fayre shootyng. And to do this the better you must remember howe that I toulde you when I descrybed generally the hole nature of shootyng that fayre shotyng came of these thynges, of standyng, nockyng, drawyng, howldyng and lowfyng, the whych I wyll go ouer as shortly as I can, describyng the discommodities that men commonly vse in all partes of theyr bodies, that you yf you faulte in any such maye knowe it and so go about to amend it. Faultes in Archers do excede the number of Archers, whyche come wyth vse of shootyng wythoute teachyng. Vse and custome separated from knowlege and learnyng, doth not onely hurt shootyng, but the moost weyghtye thynges in the worlde beside: And therefore I maruayle moche at those people whyche be the mayneteners of vses withoute knowlege hauyng no other worde in theyr mouthe but thys vse, vse, custome, custome. Suche men more wylful than wyse, beside other discommodities, take all place and occasion from al amendment. And thys I speake generally of vse and custome.

Whych thyng yf a learned man had it in hande yat woulde applye it to anye one matter, he myght handle it wonderfullye. But as for shootyng, vse is the onely cause of all fautes in it and therefore chylderne

more easily and soner maye be taught to shote excellentlye then men, bycause chylderne may be taught to shoote well at the fyrste, men haue more payne to vnlearne theyr yll vses, than they haue laboure afterwarde to come to good shootynge.

All the difcommodities whiche ill custome hath graffed in archers, can neyther be quyklye poullled out, nor yet sone reckened of me, they be so manye.

Some shooteth, his head forwarde as though he woulde byte the marke: an other stareth wyth hys eyes, as though they shulde flye out: An other winketh with one eye, and loketh with the other: Some make a face with writhing theyr mouthe and countenaunce so, as though they were doying you wotte what: An other blereth out his tonge: An other byteth his lypes: An other holdeth his necke a wrye. In drawyng some set suche a compasse, as though they woulde tourne about, and blyffe all the feelde: Other heaue theyr hand nowe vp nowe downe, that a man can not decerne wherat they wolde shote, an other waggeth the vpper ende of his bow one way, the neyther ende an other waye. An other wil stand poyntinge his shafte at the marke a good whyle and by and by he wyll gyue hym a whip, and awaye or a man wite. An other maketh suche a wrestling with his gere, as though he were able to shoote no more as longe as he lyued. An other draweth softly to ye middes, and by and by it is gon, you can not knowe howe.

An other draweth his shafte lowe at the breaste, as though he woulde shoote at a rouynge marke, and by and by he listeth his arme vp pricke heyghte. An other maketh a wrynching with hys backe, as though a manne pynched hym behynde.

An other coureth downe, and layeth out his buttockes, as though he shoulde shoote at crows.

An other setteth forwarde hys leste legge, and draweth backe wyth head and shoulders, as though he pouled at a rope, or els were afrayed of ye marke. An other draweth his shafte well, vntyll wythin. ii.

fyngers of the head, and than he stayeth a lyttle, to looke at hys marke, and that done, pouleth it vp to the head, and lowfeth : whych waye although summe excellent shoters do vse, yet surely it is a faulte, and good mennes faultes are not to be folowed.

Summe men drawe to farre, summe to shorte, summe to slowlye, summe to quickly, summe holde ouer longe, summe let go ouer sone.

Summe fette theyr shafte on the grounde, and fetcheth him vpwarde. An other poynteth vp towarde the skye, and so bryngeth hym downewardes.

Ones I sawe a manne whyche vsed a brafar on his cheke, or elles he had scratched all the skynne of the one fyde, of his face, with his drawynge hand.

An other I sawe, whiche at euerye shoote, after the loose, lyfted vp his ryght legge so far, that he was euer in ieoperdye of faulynge.

Summe stampe forwarde, and summe leape backwarde. All these faultes be eyther in the drawynge, or at the loose : with many other mo whiche you may easelye perceyue, and so go about to auoyde them.

Nowe afterwarde whan the shafte is gone, men haue manye faultes, whyche euell Custome hath broughte them to, and specially in crynge after the shafte, and speakynge woordes scarce honest for suche an honest pastyme.

Suche woordes be verye tokens of an ill mynde, and manifeste signes of a man that is subiecte to immeasurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhor them, and an honest man therfore wyl auoyde them. And beydes those whiche muste nedes haue theyr tongue thus walkynge, other men vse other fautes as some will take theyr bowe and writhe and wrinche it, to poule in his shafte, when it flyeth wyde, as yf he draue a carte. Some wyl gyue two or. iii. strydes forwarde, daunsing and hoppyng after his shafte, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a madman. Some which feare to be to farre gone, runne backwarde as it were to poule his shafte backe. Another runneth forwarde, whan he feareth to be short, heau-

ynge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. An other writhes or runneth a fyde, to poule in his shafte strayght. One lifteth vp his heele, and so holdeth his foote still, as long as his shafte flyeth. An other casteth his arme backwarde after the lowse. And an other swynges hys bowe aboute hym, as it were a man with a staffe to make rume in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, whiche nowe come not to my remembraunce. Thus as you haue hearde, manye archers wyth marrynge theyr face and countenaunce, wyth other partes, of theyr bodye, as it were menne that shoulde daunce antiques, be farre from the comelye porte in shootynge, whiche he that woulde be excellent muste looke for.

Of these faultes I haue verie many my selfe, but I talke not of my shootynge, but of the generall nature of shootynge. Nowe ymagin an Archer that is cleane wythout al these faultes and I am sure euerye man would be dellyted to se hym shoote.

And althoughe suche a perfyte cumlynesse can not be expressed wyth any precepte of teachyng, as Cicero and other learned menne do faye, yet I wyll speake (accordyng to my lytle knowlege) that thing in it, whych yf you folowe, althoughe you shall not be wythout fault, yet your fault shal neyther quickly be perceued, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stande by. Standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, lowfyng, done as they shoulde be done, make fayre shootynge.

The fyrste poynte is when a man shoulde shote, to take suche footyng and standyng as shal be both cumlye to the eye and profytable to hys vse, setting hys countenaunce and al the other partes of hys bodye after suche a behauour and porte, that bothe al hys strengthe may be employed to hys owne moost aduantage, and hys shoot made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte. A man must not go to hastily to it, for that is rashnesse, nor yet make too much to do about it, for yat is curiositie, ye one fote must not stande too far from the other, lest he stoupe too muche whyche is vnsemye, nor yet too nere

together, lest he stande to streyght vp, for so a man shall neyther vse hys strengthe well, nor yet stande stedfastlye.

The meane betwyxt bothe must be kept, a thing more pleasaunte to behoulde when it is done, than easie to be taught howe it shoulde be done.

To nocke well is the easiest poynte of all, and there in is no cunninge, but onelyedylygente hede
gyuung, to set hys shafte neyther to hye nor
to lowe, but euen streyght ouertwharte hys bowe, Vn-
constante nockynge maketh a man leese hys lengthe. Nockynge.

And besydes that, yf the shafte hande be hye and the bowe hande lowe, or contrarie, bothe the bowe is in ieopardye of brekyng, and the shafte, yf it be lytle, wyll start: yf it be great it wyll hobble. Nocke the cocke fether vpward alwayes as I toulde you when I described the fether. And be sure alwayes yat your stringe slip not out of the nocke, for then al is in ieopardye of breakynge.

Drawynge well is the best parte of
shootyng. Men in oulde tyme vsed other
maner of drawynge than we do. They vsed to drawe
low at the brest, to the ryght pap and no farther, and this
to be trew is playne in Homer, where he descrybeth
Pandarus shootyng. Drawynge.

Iliad. 4.

Vp to the pap his stringe dyd he pul, his shafte to the hard head.

The noble women of Scythia vsed the same fashyon of shootyng low at the brest, and bicause there lest pap hindred theyr shootyng at the lowse they cut it of when they were yonge, and therfore be they called in lackynge theyr pap Amazones. Nowe a dayes contrarye wyse we drawe to the ryghte eare and not to the pap. Whether the olde waye in drawynge low to the pap, or the new way to draw a loft to
the eare be better, an excellent wryter in
Greke called Procopius doth saye hys mynde, shewyng
yat the oulde fashyon in drawing to ye pap was
nought of no pithe, and therfore saith Procopius: is
Artyllarye disprayed in Homer whych calleth it
οὐρίδαρον. I. Weake and able to do no good. Draw-
Procopius
Hist. Pers.

ying to the eare he prayseth greatly, whereby men shoote bothe stronger and longer: drawynge therfore to the eare is better than to drawe at the breste. And one thyng commeth into my remembraunce nowe Philologe when I speake of drawyng, that I neuer red of other kynde of shootyng, than drawing wyth a mans hand ether to the breste or eare: This thyng haue I sought for in Homer Herodotus and Plutarch, and therefore I meruayle how crosbowes came fyrst vp, of the which I am sure a man shall finde
lytle mention made on in any good Authour. Crosbowes.

Leo the Emperoure woulde haue hys souldyers drawe quyklye in warre, for that maketh a shaft flye a pace. In shootyng at the pryckes, hasty and quicke drawing is neyther sure nor yet cumlye. Therefore to drawe easely and vniformely, that is for to saye not waggynge your hand, now vpwarde, now downwarde, but alwayes after one fashon vntil you come to the rig or shouldring of ye head, is best both for profit and semelinenesse, Holdyng must not be longe, for it
bothe putteth a bowe in ieopardy, and also Holding.
marreth a mans shoote, it must be so lytle yat it may be perceyued better in a mans mynde when it is done, than seene with a mans eyes when it is in doying.

Lowfyng muste be muche lyke. So Lowsyng.
quycke and hard yat it be wyth oute all girdes, so softe and gentle that the shafte flye not as it were sente out of a bow case. The meane betwixte bothe, whyche is perfyte lowfyng is not so hard to be folowed in shootyng as it is to be descrybed in teachyng. For cleane lowfyng you must take hede of hyttyng any thyng aboute you. And for
the same purpose Leo the Emperour woulde Leo.
haue al Archers in war to haue both theyr heades pouled, and there berdes shauen lest the heare of theyr heades shuld stop the syght of the eye, the heere of theyr berdes hinder the course of the stryng.

And these preceptes I am sure Philologe yf you folowe in standyng, nockyng, drawyng, holdyng, and lowfyng, shal bryng you at the last to excellent fayre shootyng.

Ph: All these thynges Toxophile althoughe I bothe nowe perceyue them thorowlye, and also wyll remember them dilligently: yet to morowe or some other day when you haue leasure we wyll go to the pryckes, and put them by lytle and lytle in experience. For teachyng not followed, doeth euen as muche good as bookes neuer looked vpon. But nowe seing you haue taught me to shote fayre, I praye you tel me somwhat, how I should shoote nere lest that prouerbe myght be sayd iustlye of me some tyme. He shootes lyke a gentle man fayre and far of.

Tar. He that can shoote fayre, lacketh nothyng but shootyng streyght and kepyng of a length wherof commeth hyttyng of the marke, the ende both of shootyng and also of thys our communication. The handlyng of ye wether and the mark bicause they belong to shootyng streyghte, and kepyng of a lengthe, I wyll ioine them togyther, shewing what thinges belonge to kepyng of a lengthe, and what to shootyng streyght.

The greatest enemy of shootyng is the wynde and the wether, wherby true kepyng a lengthe is chesely hindred. If this thing were not, men by teaching might be brought to wonderful Wynde and wether. neare shootyng. It is no maruayle if the litle poore shafte being sent alone, so high in to the ayer, into a great rage of wether, one wynde tossing it that waye, an other thys waye, it is no maruayle I saye, thoughe it leese the lengthe, and misse that place, where the shooter had thought to haue founde it. Greter matters than shotyng are vnder the rule and wyll of the wether, as saylyng on the sea. And lykewise as in sayling, the chese poynt of a good master, is to knowe the tokens of chaunge of wether, the course of the wyndes, that therby he maye the better come to the Hauen: euen so the best propertie of a good shooter, is to knowe the nature of the wyndes, with hym and agaynste hym, that thereby he maye the nerer shote at hys marke. Wyse maysters whan they canne not winne the beste hauen, they are gladde of the nexte: Good shooters also, yat can not whan they would hit

the marke, wil labour to come as nigh as they can. All thinges in this worlde be vnperfite and vnconstant, therefore let euery man acknowledge hys owne weake-nesse, in all matters great and smal, weyghtye and merye, and glorifie him, in whome only perfyte perfitenesse is. But nowe sir, he that wyll at all aduentures vse the seas knowinge no more what is to be done in a tempest than in a caulme, shall soone becumme a marchaunt of Eele skinned: so that shoter whiche putteth no difference, but shooteth in all lyke, in rough wether and fayre, shall alwayes put his wyninges in his eyes.

- Lytle botes and thinne boordes, can not endure the rage of a tempest. Weake bowes, and lyght shaftes can not stande in a rough wynde. And lykewyse as a blynde man which shoulde go to a place where he had neuer ben afore, that hath but one strayghte waye to it, and of eyther syde hooles and pyttes to faule into, nowe falleth in to this hole and than into that hole, and neuer commeth to his iourney ende, but wandereth alwaies here and there, farther and farther of: So that archer which ignorauntly shoteth considering neyther fayer nor foule, standynge nor nockynge, fether nor head, drawynge nor lowfyng, nor yet any compace, shall alwayes shote shorte and gone, wyde and farre of, and neuer comme nere, excepte perchaunce he stumble sumtyme on the marke. For ignoraunce is nothyngelless but mere blyndenesse.

A mayster of a shippe first learneth to knowe the cummyng of a tempest, the nature of it, and howe to behaue hym selfe in it, eyther with chaungynge his course, or poullynge downe his hye toppes and brode sayles, beyng glad to eschue as muche of the wether as he can: Euen so a good archer wyl fyrst wyth dilligent vse and markynge the wether, learne to knowe the nature of the wynde, and wyth wysedome, wyll measure in hys mynde, howe muche it wyll alter his shoote, eyther in lengthe kepyng, or els in streyght shotynge, and so with chaunging his standynge, or takynge an other shafte, the whiche he knoweth per-

lytlye to be fitter for his pourpose, eyther bycause it is lower fethered, or els bycause it is of a better wyng, wyll so handle wyth discrecion hys shoote, that he shall seeme rather to haue the wether vnder hys rule, by good hede gyuynge, than the wether to rule hys shafte by any sodayne chaungyng.

Therefore in shootyng there is as muche difference betwixt an archer that is a good wether man, and an other that knoweth and marketh nothyng, as is betwixte a blynde man and he that can se.

Thus, as concernyng the wether, a perfyte archer muste firste learne to knowe the sure flyghte of his shafte, that he may be boulde alwayes, to trust them, than muste he learne by daylye experience all maner of kyndes of wether, the tokens of it, whan it wyl cumme, the nature of it when it is cumme, the diuersitie and alteryng of it, whan it chaungeth, the decrease and diminishing of it, whan it ceaseth. Thirdly, these thinges knowen, and euery shoote diligently marked, than must a man compare alwayes, the wether and his footyng togyther, and with discrecion measure them so, that what so euer the roughe wether shall take awaye from hys shoote the same shall iuste footyng restore agayne to hys shoote.

Thys thyng well knowen, and discretelye handeled in shootyng, bryngeth more profite and commendation and prayse to an Archer, than any other thyng besydes.

He that woulde knowe perfectly the winde and wether, muste put differences betwixte tymes. For diuersitie of tyme causeth diuersitie of wether, as in the whole yeare, Sprynge tyme, Somer, Faule of the lease, and Winter; Lykewyse in one day Mornynge, Noonetyme, After noone, and Euentyde, bothe alter the wether, and chaunge a mannes bowe wyth the strength of man also. And to knowe that this is so, is ynough for a shoter and artillerie, and not to serche the cause, why it shoulde be so: whiche belongeth to a learned man and Philosophie.

In confydering the tyme of the yeare, a wyse Archer wyll folowe a good Shipman. In Winter and rough

wether, small bootes and lytle pinkes forsake the seas : And at one tyme of the yeaere, no Gallies come abrode ; So lykewyse weake Archers, vsyng small and holowe shaftes, with bowes of litle pith, muste be content to gyue place for a tyme.

And this I do not saye, eyther to discommende or discourage any weake shooter : For lykewyse, as there is no shippe better than Gallies be, in a softe and a caulme sea, so no man shooteth cumlier or nerer hys marke, than some weake archers doo, in a fayre and cleare daye.

Thus euery archer must knowe, not onelye what bowe and shafte is fittest for him to shoote withall, but also whattyme and season is best for hym to shote in. And surely, in al other matters to, amonge al degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thing eyther more discretely for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his aduauntage, than he which wyll knowe perfity for what matter and for what tyme he is moost apte and fit. Yf men woulde go aboute matters whych they should do and be fit for, and not fuche thynges whyche wylfullye they desyre and yet be vnfit for, verely greater matters in the common welthe than shootyng shoulde be in better case than they be. This ignorauncie in men whyche know not for what tyme, and to what thyng they be fit, causeth some wyshe to be riche, for whome it were better a greate deale to be poore : other to be medlynge in euery mans matter, for whome it were more honestie to be quiete and styll. Some to desire to be in the Courte, whiche be borne and be fitter rather for the carte. Somme to be maysters and rule other, whiche neuer yet began to rule them selfe : some alwayes to iangle and taulke, whych rather shoulde heare and kepe silence. Some to teache, which rather should learne. Some to be prestes, whiche were fyttre to be clerkes. And thys peruerse iudgement of ye worlde, when men mesure them selfe a misse, bringeth muche mysforder and greate vnsemelynesse to the hole body of the common wealth, as yf

a manne should were his hoose vpon his head, or a woman go wyth a sworde and a buckeler euery man would take it as a greate vncumlynesse although it be but a tryfle in respecte of the other.

Thys peruerse iudgement of men hindreth no thyng so much as learnyng, bycause commonlye those which be vnfitteft for learnyng, be cheyfly set to learnyng.

As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two sonnes, the one impotent, weke, sickly, lispyng, stuttyng, and flameryng, or hauyng any misshape in hys bodye: what doth the father of suche one commonlye saye? This boye is fit for nothyng els, but to set to lernyng and make a prest of, as who would say, yat outcastes of the worlde, hauyng neyther countenance tounge nor wit (for of a peruerse bodye cummeth commonly a peruerse mynde) be good ynough to make those men of, whiche shall be appoynted to preache Goddes holye woorde, and minister hys blessed sacramentes, besydes other moost weyghtye matters in the common welthe put ofte tymes, and worthelye to learned mennes discretion and charge: whan rather suche an offyce so hygh in dignitie, so godlye in administration, shulde be committed to no man, whiche shulde not haue a countenance full of cumlynesse to allure good menne, a bodye full of manlye authoritie to feare ill men, a witte apte for al learnyng with tongue and voyce, able to perswade all men. And although fewe suche men as these can be founde in a common wealthe, yet surelye a godly disposed man, will bothe in his mynde thyncke fit, and with al his studie labour to get such men as I speke of, or rather better, if better can be gotten for suche an hie administration, whiche is most properlye appoynted to goddes owne matters and busineses.

This peruerse iugement of fathers as concernyng the fitnessse and vnfitnessse of theyr chyl dren causeth the common wealthe haue many vnfit ministers: And seyng that ministers be, as a man woulde say, instrumentes wherwith the common wealthe doeth worke all her matters withall, I maruayle howe it chaunceth

yat a pore shomaker hath so much wit, yat he will prepare no instrument for his science neither knyfe nor aule, nor nothing els whiche is not very fitte for him : the common wealthe can be content to take at a fonde fathers hande, the risaffe of the worlde, to make those instrumentes of, wherwithal she shoulde worke ye hieft matters vnder heauen. And surely an aule of lead is not so vnprofitable in a shomakers shop, as an vnfit minister, made of grosse metal, is vnseemely in ye common welth. Fathers in olde time among ye noble Persians might not do with theyr children as they thought good, but as the iudgement of the common wealth al wayes thought best. This fault of fathers bringeth many a blot with it, to the great deformitie of the common wealthe : and here surely I can prayse gentlewomen which haue alwayes at hande theyr glasses, to se if any thinge be amisse, and so will amende it, yet the common wealth hauing ye glasse of knowlege in euery mans hand, doth se such vncumlines in it : and yet winketh at it. This faulte and many suche lyke, myght be sone wyped awaye, yf fathers woulde bestow their children on yat thing alwayes, whervnto nature hath ordeined them moste apte and fit. For if youth be grafted streyght, and not a wrye, the hole common welth wil florish thereafter. Whan this is done, than muste euery man beginne to be more ready to amende hym selfe, than to checke an other, meafuryng their matters with that wise prouerbe of Apollo, *Knowe thy selfe* : that is to saye, learne to knowe what thou arte able, fitte, and apt vnto, and folowe that.

This thinge shulde be bothe cumlie to the common wealthe, and moost profitable for euery one, as doth appere very well in all wise mennes deades, and specially to turne to our communication agayne in shootyng, where wise archers haue alwayes theyr instrumentes fit for theyr strength, and wayte euer more suche tyme and wether, as is most agreable to their gere. Therefore if the wether be to sore, and vnfit for your shootyng, leaue of for that daye, and

wayte a better feason. For he is a foole yat wyl not go, whome necessitie driueth.

Phi. This communication of yours pleased me so well Toxophile, that surelye I was not hastie to calle you, to descrybe forthe the wether but with all my harte woulde haue suffered you yet to haue stande longer in this matter. For these thinges touched of you by chaunfe, and by the waye, be farre aboue the matter it selfe, by whose occasion ye other were brought in.

Tox. Weyghtye matters they be in dede, and fit bothe in an other place to be spoken: and of an other man than I am, to be handled. And bycause meane men must meddle wyth meane matters, I wyl go forwarde in descrybyg the wether, as concernynge shooting: and as I toulde you before, In the hole yere, Spring tyme, Somer, Fal of the lease, and Winter: and in one day, Morning, Noone tyme, After noone, and Euentyde, altereth the course of the wether, the pith of the bowe, the strength of the man. And in euery one of these times the wether altereth, as sumtyme wyndie, sumtyme caulme, sumtyme cloudie, sumtyme clere, sumtyme hote, sumtyme coulde, the wynde sumtyme moistye and thicke, sumtyme drye and smothe. A litle winde in a moystie day, stoppeth a shafte more than a good whiskeynge wynde in a clere daye. Yea, and I haue sene whan there hath bene no winde at all, the ayer so mistie and thicke, that both the markes haue ben wonderfull great. And ones, whan the Plage was in Cambrige, the downe winde twelue score marke for the space of. iiii. weekes, was. xiii. score, and an halfe, and into the wynde, beyng not very great, a great deale aboue. xiiii. score.

The winde is sumtyme playne vp and downe, whiche is commonly mozte certayne, and requireth least knowlege, wherin a meane shoter with meane geare, if he can shoote home, maye make best shifte. A fyde wynde tryeth an archer and good gere verye muche. Sumtyme it bloweth a losfe, sumtyme hard by the grounde: Sumtyme it bloweth by blastes. and *sumtyme it continueth al in one: Sumtyme ful side*

wynde, sumtyme quarter with hym and more, and lykewyse agaynst hym, as a man with castynge vp lyght grasse, or els if he take good hede, shall sensibly learne by experience. To se the wynde, with a man his eyes, it is vnpossible, the nature of it is so fyne, and subtile, yet this experience of the wynde had I ones my selfe, and that was in the great snowe that fell. iiii. yeares agoo : I rode in the hye waye betwixt Topcliffe vpon Swale, and Borowe bridge, the waye beyng sumwhat trodden afore, by waye fayrnye men. The feeldes on bothe sides were playne and laye almost yearde depe with snowe, the nyght afore had ben a litle froste, so yat the snowe was hard and crufted aboue. That morning the sun shone bright and clere, the winde was whisteling a losfe, and sharpe accordynge to the tyme of the yeare. The snowe in the hye waye laye lowse and troden wyth horse feete : so as the wynde blew, it toke the lowse snow with it, and made it so slide vpon the snowe in the felde whyche was harde and crufted by reason of the frost ouer nyght, that therby I myght se verye wel, the hole nature of the wynde as it blew yat daye. And I had a great delyte and pleasure to marke it, whyche maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometyme the wynd would be not past. ii. yeardes brode, and so it would carie the snowe as far as I could se. An other tyme the snow woulde blowe ouer halfe the felde at ones. Sometyme the snowe woulde tomble softly, by and by it would flye wonderfull fast. And thys I perceyued also that ye wind goeth by streames and not hole together. For I should se one streame wyth in a Score on me, than the space of. ii. score no snow would stirre, but after so muche quantitie of grounde, an other streame of snow at the same very tyme should be caryed lykewyse, but not equally. For the one would stande styll when the other flew a pace, and so contynewe somtyme swiftlyer sometime slowlyer, sometime broder, sometime narrower, as far as I coulde se. Nor it flew not streight, but sometyme it crooked thys waye sometyme that waye, and somtyme it ran

round aboute in a compase. And somtyme the snowe wold be lyft clene from the ground vp in to the ayre, and by and by it would be al clapt to the grounde as though there had bene no winde at all, streightway it woulde rise and flye agayne.

And that whych was the moost meruayle of al, at one tyme. ii. driftes of snowe flewe, the one out of the West into ye East, the other out of the North in to ye East: And I saw. ii. windes by reason of ye snow the one crosse ouer the other, as it had bene two hye wayes. And agayne I shoulde here the wynd blow in the ayre, when nothing was stirred at the ground. And when all was still where I rode, not verrye far from me the snow should be lifted wonderfully. This experience made me more meruaile at ye nature of the wynde, than it made me conning in ye knowlege of ye wynd: but yet therby I learned perfittly that it is no meruayle at al though men in a wynde lease theyr length in shooting, seying so many wayes the wynde is so variable in blowynge.

But seyng that a Mayster of a shyp, be he neuer so cunnyng, by the vncertayntye of the wynde, leese many tymes both lyfe and goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a ryght good Archer, by the self same wynde so variable in hys owne nature, so vnensyble to oure nature, leese manye a shoote and game.

The more vncertaine and disceyuable the wynd is, the more hede must a wyse Archer gyue to know the gyles of it.

He yat doth mistrust is seldome begiled. For although therby he shall not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he shall at leaste auoyde yat whyche is worst. Besyde al these kindes of windes you must take hede yf you se anye cloude apere and gather by litle and litle agaynst you, or els yf a showre of raine be lyke to come vpon you: for than both the dryuing of the wether and the thyckynge of the ayre increafeth the marke, when after ye showre al thynges are contrary clere and caulme, and the marke for the most parte new to begyn agayne. You must take

hede also yf euer you shote where one of the markes or both stondes a lytle short of a hye wall, for there you may be easlye begyled. Yf you take grasse and caste it vp to se howe the wynde standes, manye tymes you shal suppose to shoote downe the wynde, when you shote cleane agaynst the wynde. And a good reason why. For the wynd whych commeth in dede against you, redoundeth bake agayne at the wal, and whyrleth backe to the prycke and a lytle farther and than turneth agayne, euen as a vehement water doeth agaynste a rocke or an hye braye whyche example of water as it is more sensible to a mans eyes, so it is neuer a whyt the trewer than this of the wynde. So that the grasse caste vp shall flee that waye whyche in dede is the longer marke and deceyue quyklye a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones my selfe at Norwytych in the chapel felde wythin the waulles. And thys waye I vsed in shootynge at those markes.

When I was in the myd way betwixt the markes whyche was an open place, there I toke a fether or a lytle lyght grasse and so as well as I coulede, learned how the wynd stode, that done I wente to the prycke as faste as I coulede, and according as I had founde ye wynde when I was in the mid waye, so I was fayne than to be content to make the best of my shoote that I coulede. Euen suche an other experience had I in a maner at Yorke, at the prickes, lying betwixte the castell and Ouse fyde. And although you smile Philologe, to heare me tell myne owne fondenes: yet seing you wil nedes haue me teach you somewhat in shotyng, I must nedes somtyme tel you of myne owne experience, and the better I may do so, by-cause Hippocrates in teachynge physike, Hippo. De
morb. vulg. vseth verye muche the same waye. Take heede also when you shoote nere the sea coast, although you be. ii. or. iii. miles from the sea, for there diligent markinge shall espie in the most clere daye wonderfull chaunginge. The same is to be considered lykewyse by a riuier side speciallie if

it ebbe and flowe, where he yat taketh diligent hede of ye tide and wether, shal lightly take away al yat he shooteth for. And thus of ye nature of windes and wether according to my marking you haue hearde Philologe: and hereafter you shal marke farre mo your selfe, if you take hede. And the wether thus marked as I tolde you afore, you muste take hede, of youre standing, yat therby you may win as much as you shal loose by the wether.

¶ **Phi.** I se well it is no maruell though a man misse many tymes in shootyng, feing ye wether is so vnconstant in blowing, but yet there is one thing whiche many archers vse, yat shall cause a man haue lesse nede to marke the wether, and that is Ame gyuing.

¶ **Tor.** Of gyuyng Ame, I can not tel wel, what I shuld say. For in a straunge place it taketh away al occasion of foule game, which is ye only prayse of it, yet by my iudgement, it hindreth ye knowlege of shotyng, and maketh men more negligente: ye which is a disprayse. Though Ame be giuen, yet take hede, for at an other mans shote you can not wel take Ame, nor at your owne neither, bycause the wether wil alter, euen in a minute; and at the one marke and not at the other, and trouble your shafte in the ayer, when you shal perceyue no wynde at the ground, as I my selfe haue sene shaftes tumble a losse, in a very fayer daye. There may be a fault also, in drawing or lowfyng, and many thynges mo, whiche all togyther, are required to kepe a iust length. But to go forward the nexte poynte after the markyng of your wether, is the takyng of your standyng. And in a side winde you must stand sumwhat crosse in to the wynde, for so shall you shoote the surer. Whan you haue taken good footing, than must you looke at your shafte, yat no earthe, nor weete be leste vpon it, for so should it leese the lengthe. You must loke at the head also, lest it haue had any strype, at the last shoote. A stripe vpon a stone, many tymes will bothe marre the head, croke the shafte, and hurte the fether, wherof the lest of them all, wyll cause a man leafe

his lengthe. For fuche thinges which chaunce euery shoote, many archers vse to haue summe place made in theyr cote, fitte for a lytle fyle, a stone, a Hun-fyhskin, and a cloth to dresse the shaft fit agayne at all nedes. Thys must a man looke to euer when he taketh vp his shaft. And the heade maye be made to smothe, which wil cause it flye to far: when youre shafte is fit, than must you take your bow euen in the middes or elles you shall both lease your lengthe, and put youre bowe in ieopardye of breakynge. Nockynge iuste is next, which is muche of the same nature. Than drawe equallye, lowfe equallye, wyth houldynge your hande euer of one heighte to kepe trew compasse. To looke at your shafte hede at the lowfe, is the greatest helpe to kepe a lengthe that can be, whych thyng yet hindreth excellent shotyng, bicause a man can not shote streight perfytlye excepte he looke at his marke: yf I should shoote at a line and not at the marke, I woulde alwayes loke at my shaft ende, but of thys thyng some what afterwarde. Nowe if you marke the wether diligentelye, kepe your standynge iustely, houlde and nocke trewlye, drawe and lowfe equallye, and kepe your compace certaynelye, you shall neuer misse of your lengthe.

Phi. Then there is nothyng behinde to make me hit ye marke but onely shooting streight.

Cor. No trewlye. And fyrste I wyll tell you what shyftes Archers haue founde to shoote streyght, than what is the best waye to shoote streyght. As the wether belongeth specially to kepe a lengthe (yet a side winde belongeth also to shote streight) euen so the nature of the pricke is to shote streight. The lengthe or shortnesse of the marke is alwayes vnder the rule of the wether, yet sumwhat there is in ye marke, worthy to be marked of an Archer. Yf the prickes stand of a streyght plane ground they be ye best to shote at. Yf ye marke stand on a hyl fyde or ye ground be vnequal with pittes and turninge wayes betwyxte the markes, a mans eye shall thynke that

to be streight whyche is croked: The experience of this thing is sene in payntyng, the cause of it is knownen by learnynge.

And it is ynoughe for an archer to marke it and take hede of it. The cheife cause why men can not shoote streight, is bicause they loke at theyr shaft: and this fault commeth bycause a man is not taught to shote when he is yong. Yf he learne to shoote by himselfe he is a frayde to pull the shafte throughe the bowe, and therfore looketh alwayes at hys shafte: yll vse confirmeth thys faulte as it doth many mo.

And men continewe the longer in thys faulte bycause it is so good to kepe a lengthe wyth al, and yet to shote streight, they haue inuented some waies, to espie a tree or a hill beyonde the marke, or elles to haue summe notable thing betwixt ye markes: and ones I sawe a good archer whiche did caste of his gere, and layd his quiuer with it, euen in the midway betwixt ye prickes. Summe thought he dyd so, for sauegarde of his gere: I suppose he did it, to shoote streyght withall. Other men vse to espie summe marke almoost a bow wide of ye pricke, and than go about to kepe him selfe on yat hande that the prycke is on, which thing howe much good it doth, a man wil not beleue, that doth not proue it. Other and those very good archers in drawyng, loke at the marke vntill they come almoost to ye head, than they looke at theyr shafte, but at ye very lowse, with a seconde sight they fynde theyr marke agayne. This way and al other afore of me reherfed are but shiftes and not to be folowed in shotyng streyght. For hauyng a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the only waye to shote streight, yea and I suppose so redye and easy a way yf it be learned in youth and confirmed with vse, yat a man shall neuer misse therin. Men doubt yet in loking at ye mark what way is best whether betwixt the bowe and the stringe, aboue or beneth hys hand, and many wayes moo: yet it maketh no great matter which way a man looke at his marke yf it be ioyned with comly shotyng. *The diuersitie of mens standyng and drawing causeth*

diuerse men [to] loke at theyr marke diuerse wayes: yet they al lede a mans hand to shoote streight yf nothyng els stoppe. So that cumlynesse is the only iudge of best lokyng at the marke. Some men wonder why in casting a mans eye at ye marke, the hand should go streyght. Surely ye he consydered the nature of a mans eye, he wolde not wonder at it: For this I am certayne of, that no seruaunt to hys mayster, no chylde to hys father is so obedient, as euerye ioynste and pece of the body is to do what soeuer the eye biddes. The eye is the guide, the ruler and the succourer of al the other partes. The hande, the foote and other members dare do nothyng without the eye, as doth appere on the night and darke corners. The eye is the very tonge wherwith wyt and reason doth speke to euery parte of the body, and the wyt doth not so sone signifye a thyng by the eye, as euery parte is redye to folow, or rather preuent the byddyng of the eye. Thys is playne in many thynges, but most euident in fence and feyghtyng, as I haue heard men saye. There euery parte standyng in feare to haue a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as yonge chyl dren do to ye mother: the foote, the hand, and al wayteth vpon the eye. Yf the eye byd ye hand either beare of, or smite, or the foote ether go forward, or backward, it doth so: And that whyche is moost wonder of all the one man lookyng stedfastly at the other mans eye and not at his hand, wyl, euen as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to smyte nexte, for the eye is nothyng els but a certayne wyndowe for wit to shote oute hir head at.

Thys wonderfull worke of god in makynge all the members so obedient to the eye, is a pleasaunte thyng to remember and loke vpon: therfore an Archer maye be sure in learnyng to looke at hys marke when he is yong, alwayes to shoote streyghte. The thynges that hynder a man whyche looketh at hys marke, to shote streyght, be these: A fyde wynde, a bowe either to stronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, whan the fether runneth on the bowe to much, a byg brested shafte, for

hym that shoteth vnder hande, bycause it wyl hobble: a little brested shafte for hym yat shoteth aboue ye hande, bicause it wyl starte: a payre of windynge prickes, and many other thinges mo, which you shal marke your selfe, and as ye knowe them, so learne to amend them. If a man woulde leaue to looke at his shafte, and learne to loke at his marke, he maye vse this waye, whiche a good shooter tolde me ones that he did. Let him take his bowe on the nyght, and shoote at. ii. lightes, and there he shall be compelled to looke alwayes at his marke, and neuer at his shafte: This thing ones or twyse vsed wyl cause hym forsake lokinge at his shafte. Yet let hym take hede of settinge his shafte in the bowe.

Thus Philologe to shoote streyght is the leaste maysterie of all, yf a manne order hym selfe thereafter, in his youthe. And as for keypyng a lengthe, I am sure the rules whiche I gaue you, will neuer disceyue you, so that there shal lacke nothyng, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or elles verye nere shotynge, excepte the faulte be onely in youre owne selfe, whiche maye come. ii. wayes, eyther in hauing a faynt harte or courage, or elles in sufferyng your selfe ouer muche to be led with affection: yf a mans mynde fayle hym, the bodye whiche is ruled by the mynde, can neuer do his duetie, yf lacke of courage were not, men myght do mo mastries than they do, as doeth appere in leapyng and vaultinge.

All affections and specially anger, hurteth bothe mynde and bodye. The mynde is blynde therby: and yf the mynde be blynde, it can not rule the bodye aright. The body both blood and bone, as they say, is brought out of his ryght course by anger: Wherby a man lacketh his right strengthe, and therefore can not shoote wel. Yf these thynges be auoyded (wherof I wyl speake no more, both bycause they belong not properly to shoting, and also you can teache me better, in them, than I you) and al the preceptes which I haue gyuen you, dilligently marked, no doubt ye shal shoote as well as euer man dyd yet, by the grace of God.

Thys communication handled by me Philologe, as I knowe wel not perfytyly, yet as I suppose truelye you must take in good worthe, wherin if diuers thinges do not all togyther please you, thanke youre selfe, whiche woulde haue me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thyng in hande whyche I was not able for to perfourme, than by any honeste shamefastnes withsay your request and minde, which I knowe well I haue not satysfied. But yet I wyl thinke this labour of mine the better bestowed, if tomorow or some other daye when you haue leysour, you wyl spende as much tyme with me here in this same place, in entreatinge the question *De origine animæ.* and the ioynnyng of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe far Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoicians haue waded in it.

¶ Hi. How you haue handeled this matter Toxophile I may not well tel you my selfe nowe, but for your gentleneisse and good wyll towarde learnyng and shotyng, I wyll be content to shewe you any pleasure whensoever you wyll: and nowe the sunne is doune therfore if it please you, we wil go home and drynke in my chambre, and there I wyll tell you playnelye what I thinke of this communication and also, what daye we will appoynt at your request for the other matter, to mete here agayne.

Deo gratias.

LONDONI. 

In ædibus Edouardi VVhytchurch.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

I. TOXOPHILUS, THE FOUNDATION OF ASCHAM'S AFTER-FORTUNES. In a humorous letter to Queen Elizabeth, on 10. Oct. 1567. (87.): Ascham divides his idea of her into two; and asking her in one personality as his friend, to intercede with her other personality, as queen, to relieve him from his difficulties, recounts to her the history of his pension.

"I wrote once a little book of shooting; King HENRY, her most noble father, did so well like and allow it, as he gave me a living for it; when he lost his life I lost my living; but noble King EDWARD again did first revive it by his goodness, then did increase it by his liberality; thirdly, did confirm it by his authority under the great seal of England, which patent all this time was both a great pleasure and profit to me, saving that one unpleasant word in that patent, called "during pleasure," turned me after to great displeasure; for when King EDWARD went, his pleasure went with him, and my whole living went away with them both. But behold God's goodness towards me, and his providence over me, in Queen MARY, her highness' sister's time, when I had lost all, and neither looked nor hoped for any thing again, all my friends being under foot, without any labour, without my knowledge I was suddenly sent for to come to the council. I came with all will, and departed with much comfort, for there I was sworn secretary for the Latin tongue, because some of them knew that King EDWARD had given me that office when I was absent in Germany, by good Mr Secretary's procurement, and because some did think I was fitter to do that office than those were that did exercise it. When I saw other so willing to do for me, I was the bolder somewhat to speak for myself. I saw WINCHESTER did like well the manner of my writing; I saw also that he only was *Dominus regit me* that time. I told him that my patent and living for my Book of Shooting was lost. Well, said he, cause it to be written again, and I will do what I can. I did so, and here I will open to your majesty a pretty subtlety in doing happily a good turn to myself, whereat perchance your majesty will smile; for surely I have laughed at it twenty times myself, and that with good cause, for I have lived somewhat the better for it ever since. I caused the same form of the patent to be written out, but I willed a vacant place to be left for the sum. I brought it so written to the bishop: he asked me why the old sum was not put in. Sir, quoth I, the fault is in the writer, who hath done very ill beside, to leave the vacant place so great, for the old word *ten* will not half fill the room, and therefore surely, except it please your lordship to help to put in twenty pounds, that would both fill up the vacant place well now and also fill my purse the better hereafter, truly I shall be put to new charges in causing the patent to be new written again. The bishop fell in a laughter, and forthwith went to Queen MARY and told what I had said, who, without any

more speaking, before I had done her any service, of her own bountifull goodnes made my patent twenty pounds by year during my life, for her and her successors."

That this account is but partially correct, and that he was making a telling story to amuse the Queen, appears from his letter to Gardiner, at the time of the renewal of his pension.

(170.) To BISHOP GARDINER. [About April 1554.]

In writing out my patent I have left a vacant place for your wisdom to value the sum: wherein I trust to find further favour; for I have both good cause to ask it, and better hope to obtain it, partly in consideration of my unrewarded pains and undischarged costs, in teaching King EDWARD's person, partly for my three years' service in the Emperor's court, but chiefly of all when King HENRY first gave it me at Greenwich. your lordship in the gallery there asking me what the king had given me, and knowing the truth, your lordship said it was too little, and most gently offered me to speak to the king for me. But then I most happily desired your lordship to reserve that goodnes to another time, which time God hath granted even to these days, when your lordship may now perform by favour as much as then you wished by good will, being as easy to obtain the one as to ask the other. And I beseech your lordship see what good is offered me in writing the patent: the space which is left by chance doth seem to crave by good luck some words of length, as *viginti* or *triginta*, yea, with the help of a little dash *quadraginta* would serve best of all. But sure as for *decem* it is somewhat with the shortest: nevertheless I for my part shall be no less contented with the one than glad with the other, and for either of both more than bound to your lordship. And thus God prosper your lordship. Your lordship's most bounden to serve you.

R. ASKAM.

To the Rt Reverend Father in God,
My Lord Bishop of Winchester his Grace, these.

2. The Byzantine Emperor LEO VI [b 865—ascended the throne 1. Mar. 886—d 911], surnamed in flattery the *Philosopher*, is reputed to have written, besides other works, one entitled *Τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικῶν συντομὸς παράδοσις*, (A summary exposition of the art of war). Sir John Cheke's translation into Latin, of this book. in 1543 or 1544, was published at Basle in 1554, under the title of *Leonis Imperatoris. De bellico apparatu Liber, e graeco in latinum conuersus*, IOAN CHECO Cantrabrigensi Interp.

3. The Dutchman PETER NANNING, latinized NANNIUS, [b 1500—d 21 July 1557] was Professor of Latin, in college of 'the three languages' in the University of Louvain. He wrote a short tract of 34 pp, *De milite peregrino*: in which, in a dialogue

between Olympius and Xenophon, he discusses Archery-v-Guns. This tract is attached to another entitled *Oratio de oblatione Louanienſi*. Both were published at Louvain in September 1543.

4. The Frenchman JOHN RAVISIUS TEXTOR [b about 1480—d 3 Dec: 1524]: became Rector of the University of Paris. His *Officina* was first published in 1522. The passage that provoked Ascham's ire is, *Crinitus ait Scotos (qui vicini sunt Britannis) in dirigendis sagittis acres esse et egregios*. Fol 158. Ed. 1532.

5. The Florentine PETER RICCIO or latinized CRINITUS [b 1465—d about 1504.], an Italian biographer and poet. In December, 1504 was published his *Commentarii de Honestâ Disciplina*.

6. The French Chronicler, ROBERT GAGUIN [b about 1425—d 22. July. 1502.] General of the Order of the Trinitarians, and reputed the best narrator of his age. The first edition of his *Compendium super Francorum gestis* was published in Paris, in 1495.

7. The Scot JOHN MAJOR, latinized IOANNES MAJOR, D.D. [b 1478—d 1540] was for many years Professor of Theology and one of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, at Paris. He published his *Historia Maioris Britanniæ, tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ, per Ioannem Maiorem, nomine quidem Scotum, professione autem Theologum, e veterum monumentis concinnata*. 4to Paris. 1521. "This history is divided into six books wherein he gives a summary account of the affairs of Scotland from Fergus I. till the marriage of King James III., in the year 1469, with which he concludes his work." Mackenzie. *Writers of the Scottish Nation*, ii. 315.

8. HECTOR BOETHIUS, or BOECE, or BOEIS [b about 1470—d about 1550] a native of Dundee, became Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. wrote *Scotorum historia a prima gentis origine. &c.* in 17 books, first published in Paris in 1526, and subsequently enlarged in later editions.

9. Sir Thomas Elyot [d 1546.] The work referred to by Ascham, does not appear ever to have been published.



English Reprints.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

Criticism

on

MILTON'S
Paradise Lost.

FROM 'THE SPECTATOR.'

31 December, 1711—3 May, 1712.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Affiliate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON :

ALEX. MURRAY & SON, 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.

Ent. Stat. Hall.]

1 August, 1868.

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JOHN MILTON'S PUBLIC SELF-DEDICATION TO THE COMPOSITION OF A GREAT ENGLISH EPIC.

About Feb. 1642, Milton, æt 32, in his third contribution to the Smectymnus controversy, *The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelatry*, to show how little delight he had in that which he believed 'God by his Secretary conscience incyned' upon him therein: he thus magnificently announces his self-dedication to the magnificent purpose of writing a great Epic in his mother tongue

"I should not cnuise this manner of writing wherein knowing my self inferiorto my self, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet since it will be such a folly as wisest men going about to commit, have only confest and so committed. I may trust with more reason, because with more folly to have courteous pardon. For although a Poet soaring in the high region of his fancies with his gariand and singing robes about him might without apology speak more of himself then I mean to do, yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortall thing among many readers of no Emphyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of my selfe, I shall pention to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say therefore that after I had from my first yeeres by the ceaselesse diligence and care of my father, whom God recompence, bin exercis'd to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choise in English, or other tongue, prosing and versing, and chiefly this latter, the stile by certain vital signes it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of *Italy*, whither I was favor'd to resort, perceiving that some tritles which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were receiv'd with written Encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the *Alps*. I began thus farre to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not lesse to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joynd with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possest me, and these other. That if I were certain to write as men buy Leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had, then to Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latines, I apply'd my selfe to that resolution which *Ariosto* follow'd against the perswasions of *Bembo*, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end, that were a toylsorn vanity, but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choycest wits of *Athens*, *Rome*, or modern *Italy*, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Christian, might doe for mine: not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attaine to that, but content with these British Ilands as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, *England* hath had her noble atchievements made small by the unskilfull handling of monks and mechanicks.

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits of her musing hath liberty to propose to her self, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of *Homer*, and those other two of *Virgil* and *Tasso* are a diffuse, and the book of *Iob* a brief model: or whether the rules of *Aristotle* herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and use judgement is no transgression, but an enriching of art. And lastly what King or Knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a *Chace*

tian *Heroe*. And as *Tasso* gave to a Prince of Italy his choise whether he would command him to write of *Godfrey's* expedition against the infidels, or *Belisarius* against the Gothes, or *Charlemain* against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the imboldning of art ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing advers in our climat, or the state of this age, it haply would be no rashnesse from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offer in our owne ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatick constitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* raigne shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation, the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon* consisting of two persons and a double *Chorus*, as *Origen* rightly judges. And the Apocalyps of Saint *Iohn* is the majestic image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a seventold *Chorus* of halleluja's and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of *Parrus* commenting that booke is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead to imitat those magniſick Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty: But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every Nation: and are of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune, to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of Gods Almightynesse, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church, to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious Nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ, to deplore the general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and Gods true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in vertu aimable, or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of mans thoughts from within, all these things with a solid and treatable smoothnesse to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and vertu through all the instances of example with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper who will not so much as look upon Truth herselfe, unless they see her elegantly drest, that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appeare to all men both easy and pleasant though they were rugged and difficult indeed. . . . The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have liv'd within me ever since I could conceiv my self any thing worth to my Countrey, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an abortive and foredated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavour'd, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost averre of my self, as farre as life and free leasure will extend, and that the Land had once enfranchis'd her self from this impertinent yoke of prelacy, under whose inquisitorial and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither doe I think it shame to covnant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rays'd from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at wast from the pen of some vulgar Amorist, or the trencher fury of a riming parasite, not to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternall Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steddly observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affaires, till which in some measure be compast, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them.—*pp.* 37—41. *Ed.* 1641.

Criticism on 'Paradise Lost.'

INTRODUCTION.



IN the ordinary course of writing for *The Spectator*, Addison determined upon a summary exposition of *Paradise Lost*; intending in some four or half a dozen papers, 'to give a general Idea of its Graces and Imperfections.' Though his subject was a recent matter-work, it was then comparatively unknown and certainly inadequately appreciated. Addison's purpose was to make Milton's great Epic popular. His sense of the indifference and prejudices to be overcome, may be gathered, not only from his, at first, guarded and argued praise of Milton; his large comparative criticism of Homer and Virgil, as if to make Milton the more acceptable; but also from his announcement, see page 25: where, under the cover of a Commentary on the great and acceptedly-great name of Aristotle, he endeavours to get a hearing for the unknown Milton.

In accordance with this intention, at the close of his sixth paper,† Addison announces the termination of the criticism on the following Saturday. The essays, however, had met with an unexpected success. So that their author—the subject growing easily under his hand—was induced, instead of offering samples of the Beauties of the poem, in one essay, to give a separate paper to those in each of the twelve books of *Paradise Lost*. His caution however prevented him even then, from announcing his fresh purpose, until he was well on in his work; entering upon the consideration of the Fourth Book. §

These conditions of production not only show the tentativeness of the criticism, but account in part for the treatment of the subject. In particular, for the repetition in expanded form in its later essays, of arguments, opinions, &c., epitomized in the earlier

† p. 49.

§ p. 75.

ones. As, for instance; the impropriety of Allegory in Epic poetry.

Before the appearance of the last of the Milton papers, Volume IV. of the second (first collected) edition of *The Spectator*, which included the first ten essays, had probably been delivered to its subscribers. The text of this edition shows considerable additions and corrections. So that Addison was revising the earlier, possibly before he had written the later of these papers. The eight last papers formed part of Volume V. of the second edition, which was published in the following year, 1713.

Subsequently—in the Author's lifetime—at least one important addition was made to the text†; but the scarcity of early editions of *The Spectator* has prevented any further collation. In this way the growing text grew into final form: that in which it has come down to us.

In the present work, the text is that of the original issue, in folio. The variations and additions of the second edition, in 8vo, are inserted between []. Words in the first, omitted in the second edition are distinguished by having * affixed to them. Subsequent additions are inserted between { }; which also contain the English translations of the mottoes. These have been verified with those in the earliest edition in which I have found them, that of 1744. The reader can therefore watch not only the expansion of the criticism, but Addison's method of correcting his work.

These papers do not embody the writer's entire mind on the subject. Limited as he was in time, to a week; in space, to the three or four columns of the Saturday folio: he was still more limited by the capacity, taste, and patience of his readers. Addison shows not a little art in the way in which, meting out his thought with the measure of his readers' minds, he endeavours rather to awaken them from indifference than to express his complete observations. The whole four months' lesson

† pp. 54, 55.

in criticism must be apprehended, as much with reference to those he was teaching to discriminate and appreciate, as to the fettered expression of the critic's own opinion.

The accepted standards in Epic poetry were Homer and Virgil. All that Addison tries to do is to persuade his countrymen to put Milton by their side.

Paganism could not furnish out a real Action for a Fable greater than that of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, and therefore an Heathen could not form a higher Notion of a Poem than one of that kind, which they call an Heroic. Whether *Milton's* is not of a sublimer Nature I will not presume to determine, it is sufficient that I shew there is in *Paradise Lost* all the Greatness of Plan, Regularity of Design, and masterly Beauties which we discover in *Homer* and *Virgil*.†

Possibly it is owing to the then absence of an equal acknowledgment in England of Dante, Addison's consequent limitation of purpose, and the conditions of the production of this criticism, that there is no recognition therein of the great Italian Epic poet.

These papers constitute a Primer to *Paradise Lost*. Most skilfully constructed both to interest and instruct, but still a Primer. As the excellent setting may the better display the gem of incalculable value: so may Addison's thought help us to understand Milton's 'greatness of Soul, which furnished him with such glorious Conceptions.' Let us not stop at the Primer, but pass on to a personal apprehension of the great English Epic; in the persuasion, that in no speech under heaven, is there a poem of more Sublimity, Delight, and Instruction than that which Milton was maturing for a quarter of a century: and that there is nothing human more wonderful and at the same time more true, than those visions of 'the whole System of the intellectual World, the *Chaos* and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell' over which—in the deep darkness of his blindness—Milton's spirit so long brooded, and which at length he revealed to Earth in his astonishing Poem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ADDISON'S CRITICISM ON MILTON'S 'PARADISE LOST.'

• Editions not seen.

The various editions of *The Spectator* are omitted, for want of space, because the scarcity of its early issues, prevents an exact list being given. See note on the three earliest issues, at p. 10.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. As a separate publication.

1719. London. Notes on the Twelve Books of *Paradise Lost*. Collected from the *SPECTATOR*. Written by Mr. Addison.
1 vol. 12mo.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

- 1 Aug. London. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.
1808. 1 vol. 8vo.

II. With other works.

1721. London. Addison's works [Ed: with Life by T. TICKELL.] The criticism occupies iii. 208-382.
4 vols. 4to.
1761. Birmingham. *Baskerville edition*. Addison's works. The criticism occupies iii. 240-355.
4 vols. 4to.
1763. London. A familiar Exposition of the Poetical Works of Milton. To which is prefixed Mr. Addison's Criticism on 'Paradise Lost.' With a preface by the Rev. Mr. DODD. The criticism occupies pp. 1-144.
1 vol. 8vo.
*1790. Edinburgh. Papers in the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian*, and *Freeholder*, together with his Treatise on the Christian Religion, &c. *Watt*.
4 vols. 8vo.
1801. London. The Poetical works of John Milton. Ed. by Rev. H. J. TODD, M.A. The criticism occupies i. 24-194.
6 vols. 8vo.
1804. London. Selections from the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and *Freeholder*. With a preliminary Essay by ANNA LÆTITIA BARBAULD. The criticism occupies ii. 38-170.
3 vols. 8vo.
1804. London. Addison's works. Collected by Mr. TICKELL. The criticism occupies ii. 83-221.
6 vols. 8vo.
1811. London. Addison's works. With notes by Bp. HURD. The criticism occupies iv. 78-208.
6 vols. 8vo.
1819. London. Second edition of No. 6. The criticism occupies i. 7 vols. 8vo. 1-153.
1826. London. Third edition of No. 6. The criticism, without quotations, occupies ii. vii.-xcviii.
6 vols. 8vo.
1849. London. A new edition of No. 7. The criticism occupies ii. 169-184.
2 vols. 8vo.
1856. New York. Addison's works. Ed. by G. W. GREENE. The criticism occupies vi. 24-168.
6 vols. 8vo.
1856. London. *Bohn's British Classics*. Addison's works. A new edition of No. 9. The criticism occupies iii. 170-183.
6 vols. 8vo.





Joseph Addison

CRITICISM

ON

Milton's

PARADISE LOST.

FROM 'THE SPECTATOR.'

*Three Poets, in three distant Ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn.
The First in loftineys of thought Surpass'd,
The Next in Majesty; in both the Last.
The force of Nature cou'd no farther goe:
To make a Third she joynd the former two.*

DRYDEN. Under Milton's picture in Tonson's folio
(the fourth) edition of *Paradise Lost*, &c. 1688.



NOTE ON THE EARLY ISSUES OF 'THE SPECTATOR.'

- I. 1711. No. 1 of *The Spectator* appears "To be Continued every Day."
 Mar. 1. It is a foolscap folio, printed in two columns on each of its two pages; advertisements occupying the greater part of the fourth column. The serial continues for ninety-three weeks.
- II. June 1. No. 80 appears.
 June 2. No. 81 appears.
 Sept. 13. No. 169 appears.
- III. Sept. 14. No. 170 appears.
 Nov. 20. No. 227 has the following announcement. "There is now Printing by Subscription two Volumes of the SPECTATORS on a large character in Octavo: the Price of the two Vols. well Bound and Gilt two Guineas. Those who are inclined to Subscribe, are desired to make their first Payments to Jacob Tonson, Bookseller in the Strand: the Books being so near finished, that they will be ready for the Subscribers at or before Christmas next."
- 2nd Ed. Dec. 18. No. 231 appears.
 19. No. 232 appears.
 31. No. 202. The papers on Milton are announced.
1712.
 Jan. 5. No. 207. The first paper on *Paradise Lost* appears.
 8. No. 200 has this announcement. "The First and Second Volumes of the SPECTATOR in two are now ready to be delivered to the Subscribers, by J. Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand."
- IV. 2nd Ed. Jan. 12. No. 273. The second Milton paper appears.
 18. No. 278 advertises "This Day is Published, A very neat Pocket Edition of the SPECTATOR, in 2 Vols. 12^o. Printed for Sam. Bucklev at the Dolphin in Little-Britain, and J. Tonson at Shakespear's Head over-against Catherine-street in the Strand."
- 3rd Ed. Jan. 19-Mar. 8. Eight more papers on *Paradise Lost* appear.
 There is no announcement in the Original issue, when Vols. III and IV were ready for delivery to the subscribers of the first two, of which they were issued, with an Index, as a completion. Vol. III contains a List of the subscribers to the second edition of these earlier numbers of *The Spectator*. The list contains 402 names, including a large proportion of aristocratic titles; and among other the names of Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, &c. The probability is that as the subscribers would naturally complete their sets, the reprinting would go on a little in arrear of the Original issue, and that these volumes were delivered some time in April. The 4 volumes apparently realized £1,608.
- 2nd Ed. April? Aug. 1. 10. Anne, c. 18 comes into force. It imposes a Stamp duty of an Halfpenny upon every Pamphlet or Paper contained in Half a Sheet, and One Shilling upon every printed advertisement.—*Statutes* ix. 617. This stamp is still seen on many copies.
- Nov. 11. No. 533 advertises "This Day is Publish'd, A very neat Pocket edition of the 3d and 4th Volumes of the *Spectator* in 12^o. To which is added a compleat Index to the whole 4 Volumes. &c."
- 3rd Ed. Dec. 6. No. 555, Steele announcing, in his own name, the conclusion of the series, states, "I have nothing more to add, but having swelled this Work to 555 Papers, they will be disposed into seven Volumes, four of which are already publish'd, and the three others in the Press. It will not be demanded of me why I now leave off, tho' I must own my self obliged to give an Account to the Town of my Time hereafter, since I retire when their Partiality to me is so great, that an Edition of the former Volumes of *Spectators* of above Nine thousand each Book is already sold off, and the Tax on each half Sheet has brought into the Stamp-Office one Week with another above 20^l. a Week arising from this single Paper, notwithstanding it at first reduced it to less than half the number that was usually Printed before this Tax was laid." He is evidently referring to the original daily issues.
- 2nd Ed. Two years later, *The Spectator* was revived for about six months.
- VIII. 1714. June 18-Dec. 20. Nos 556-635 are published.
 SIX HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE PAPERS CONSTITUTE 'THE SPECTATOR.'

The SPECTATOR.

Nulla venenato Littera missa Foco est.

Ov.

{*Satirical Reflexions I avoid.*

Another translation.

My paper flows from no satiric vein,

Contains no poison, and conveys no pain. Adapted}

Monday, December 31. 1711.



Think myself highly obliged to the Publick for their kind Acceptance of a Paper which visits them every Morning, and has in it none of those *Scafonings* that recommend so many of the Writings which are in vogue among us.

As, on the one Side, my Paper has not in it a single Word of News, a Reflection in Politicks, nor a Stroke of Party; so, on the other, there are no fashionable Touches of Infidelity, no obscene Ideas, no Satyrs upon Priesthood, Marriage, and the like popular Topicks of Ridicule; no private Scandal, nor any thing that may tend to the Defamation of particular Persons, Families, or Societies.

There is not one of these abovementioned Subjects that would not sell a very indifferent Paper, could I think of gratifying the Publick by such mean and base Methods: But notwithstanding I have rejected every thing that favours of Party, every thing that is loose and immoral, and every thing that might create Uneasiness in the Minds of particular Persons, I find that the Demand for my Papers has encreased every Month since their first Appearance in the World. This does not perhaps reflect so much Honour upon my self, as on my Readers, who give a much greater Attention to Discourses of Virtue and Morality, than ever I expected, or indeed could hope.

When I broke loose from that great Body of Writers who have employed their Wit and Parts in propagating Vice and Irreligion, I did not question but I should be treated as an odd kind of Fellow that had a Mind to appear singular in my Way of Writing : But the general Reception I have found, convinces me that the World is not so corrupt as we are apt to imagine ; and that if those Men of Parts who have been employed in viciating the Age had endeavoured to rectify and amend it, they needed not to have sacrificed their good Sense and Virtue to their Fame and Reputation. No Man is so sunk in Vice and Ignorance, but there are still some hidden Seeds of Goodness and Knowledge in him ; which give him a Relish of such Reflections and Speculations as have an Aptness in* them* to improve the Mind and to make the Heart better.

I have shewn in a former Paper, with how much Care I have avoided all such Thoughts as are loose, obscene, or immoral ; and I believe my Reader would still think the better of me, if he knew the Pains I am at in qualifying what I write after such a Manner, that nothing may be interpreted as aimed at private Persons. For this Reason when I draw any faulty Character, I consider all those Persons to whom the Malice of the World may possibly apply it, and take care to dash it with such particular Circumstances as may prevent all such ill-natured Applications. If I write any thing on a black Man, I run over in my Mind all the eminent Persons in the Nation who are of that Complexion : When I place an imaginary Name at the Head of a Character, I examine every Syllable and Letter of it, that it may not bear any Resemblance to one that is real. I know very well the Value which every Man sets upon his Reputation, and how painful it is to be exposed to the Mirth and Derision of the Publick, and should therefore scorn to divert my Reader at the Expence of any private Man.

As I have been thus tender of every particular Person's Reputation, so I have taken more than ordi-

nary Care not to give Offence to those who appear in the higher Figures of Life, I would not make my self merry even with a Piece of Pasteboard that is invested with a publick Character; for which Reason I have never glanced upon the late designed Procession of his Holiness and his Attendants, notwithstanding it might have afforded Matter to many ludicrous Speculations. Among those Advantages which the Publick may reap from this Paper, it is not the least, that it draws Mens Minds off from the Bitterness of Party, and furnishes them with Subjects of Discourse that may be treated without Warmth or Passion. This is said to have been the first Design of those Gentlemen who set on Foot the Royal Society; and had then a very good Effect, as it turned many of the greatest Genius's of that Age to the Disquisitions of natural Knowledge, who, if they had engaged in Politicks with the same Parts and Application, might have set their Country in a Flame. The Air-Pump, the Barometer, the Quadrant, and the like Inventions, were thrown out to those busy Spirits, as Tubs and Barrels are to a Whale, that he may let the Ship sail on without Disturbance, while he diverts himself with those innocent Amusements.

I have been so very scrupulous in this Particular of not hurting any Man's Reputation, that I have forbore mentioning even such Authors as I could not name with Honour. This I must confess to have been a Piece of very great Self-denial: For as the Publick relishes nothing better than the Ridicule which turns upon a Writer of any Eminence, so there is nothing which a Man that has but a very ordinary Talent in Ridicule may execute with greater Ease. One might raise Laughter for a Quarter of a Year together upon the Works of a Person who has published but a very few Volumes. For which Reasons I am astonished, that those who have appeared against this Paper have made so very little of it. The Criticisms which I have hitherto published, have been made with an Intention rather to discover Beauties and Excellencies in the

Writers of my own 'Time, than to publish any of their Faults and Imperfections. In the mean while I should take it for a very great Favour from some of my underhand Detractors, if they would break all Measures with me so far, as to give me a Pretence for examining their Performances with an impartial Eye: Nor shall I look upon it as any Breach of Charity to criticise the Author, so long as I keep clear of the Person.

In the mean while, till I am provoked to such Hostilities, I shall from Time to Time endeavour to do Justice to those who have distinguished themselves in the politer Parts of Learning, and to point out such Beauties in their Works as may have escaped the Observation of others.

As the first Place among our *English* Poets is due to *Milton*, and as I have drawn more Quotations out of him than from any other, I shall enter into a regular Criticism upon his *Paradise lost*, which I shall publish every *Saturday* till I have given my Thoughts upon that Poem. I shall not however presume to impose upon others my own particular Judgment on this Author, but only deliver it as my private Opinion. Criticism is of a very large Extent, and every particular Master in this Art has his favourite Passages in an Author, which do not equally strike the best Judges. It will be sufficient for me if I discover many Beauties or Imperfections which others have not attended to, and I should be very glad to see any of our eminent Writers publish their Discoveries on the same Subject. In short, I would always be understood to write my Papers of Criticism in the Spirit which *Horace* has expressed in those two famous Lines,

——— *Si quid novisti rectius istis*
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

If you have made any better Remarks of your own, communicate them with Candour; if not, make use of these I present you with.

The SPECTATOR.

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii. Propert.
 { Give place, ye Roman, and ye Grecian Wits. }

Saturday, January, 5. 1712.



HERE is nothing in Nature so irksom[e] as general Discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon Words. For this Reason I shall wave the Discussion of that Point which was started some Years since, Whether *Milton's Paradise Lost* may be called an Heroick Poem? Those who will not give it that Title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its Perfection, if it has in it all the Beauties of the highest kind of Poetry; and as for those who say [alledge] it is not an Heroick Poem, they advance no more to the Diminution of it, than if they should say *Adam* is not *Aeneas*, nor *Eve Helen*.

I shall therefore examine it by the Rules of Epic Poetry, and see whether it falls short of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, in the Beauties which are essential to that kind of Writing. The first Thing to be considered in an Epic Poem, is the Fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the Action which it relates is more or less so. This Action should have three Qualifications in it. First, It should be but one Action. Secondly, It should be an entire Action; and Thirdly, It should be a great Action. To consider the Action of the *Iliad*, *Aeneid*, and *Paradise Lost* in these three several Lights. *Homer* to preserve the Unity of his Action hastens into the midst of things, as *Horace* has observed: Had he gone up

to *Leda's Egg*, or begun much later, even at the Rape of *Helen*, or the Investing of *Troy*, it is manifest that the Story of the Poem would have been a Series of several Actions. He therefore opens his Poem with the Discord of his Princes, and with great Art interweaves in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing [material] which relates to the Story [them], and had pass'd before that fatal Dissention. After the same manner *Æneas* makes his first appearance in the *Tyrrhene Seas*, and within sight of *Italy*, because the Action propos'd to be celebrated was that of his Settling himself in *Latium*. But because it was necessary for the Reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of *Troy*, and in the preceding parts of his Voyage, *Virgil* makes his Hero relate it by way of Episode in the second and third Books of the *Æneid*. The Contents of both which Books come before those of the first Book in the Thread of the Story, tho' for preserving of this Unity of Action, they follow them in the Disposition of the Poem. *Milton*, in Imitation of these two great Poets, opens his *Paradise Lost* with an Infernal Council plotting the Fall of Man, which is the Action he propos'd to celebrate; and as for those great Actions, which preceded in point of time, the Battel of the Angels, and the Creation of the World, (which would have entirely destroyed the Unity of his Principal Action, had he related them in the same Order that they happened) he cast them into the fifth, sixth and seventh Books, by way of Episode to this noble Poem.

Aristotle himself allows, that *Homer* has nothing to boast of as to the Unity of his Fable, tho' at the same time that great Critick and Philosopher endeavours to palliate this Imperfection in the *Greek* Poet, by imputing it in some Measure to the very Nature of an Epic Poem. Some have been of Opinion, that the *Æneid* labours also in this particular, and has Episodes which may be looked upon as Excrescencies rather than as Parts of the Action. On the contrary, the

Poem which we have now under our Consideration, hath no other Epifodes than fuch as naturally arife from the Subject, and yet is filled with fuch a multitude of astonishing Circumftances [Incidents], that it gives us at the fame time a Pleasure of the greateft Variety, and of the greateft Simplicity. {uniform in its Nature, though diversified in the Execution.}

I muft obferve alfo, that as *Virgil* in the Poem which was defigned to celebrate the Original of the *Roman* Empire, has described the Birth of its great Rival, the *Carthaginian* Commonwealth. *Milton* with the like Art in his Poem on the Fall of Man, has related the Fall of thofe Angels who are his professed Enemies. Befides the many other Beauties in fuch an Epifode, it's running Parallel with the great Action of the Poem, hinders it from breaking the Unity fo much as another Epifode would have done, that had not fo great an Affinity with the principal Subject. In fhort, this is the fame kind of Beauty which the Criticks admire in the *Spanifh Fryar*, or the *Double Discovery*, where the two different Plots look like Counterparts and Copies of one another.

The fecond Qualification required in the Action of an Epic Poem is, that it fhould be an *entire* Action: An Action is entire when it is compleat in all its Parts; or as *Aristotle* describes it, when it confifts of a Beginning, a Middle, and an End. Nothing fhould go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no fingle Step fhould be omitted in that juft and regular Progreff [Procefs] which it muft be fupposed to take from its Original to its Consummation. Thus we fee the Anger of *Achilles* in its Birth, its Continuance and Effects; and *Aeneas's* Settlement in *Italy*, carried on through all the Oppofitions in his way to it both by Sea and Land. The Action in *Milton* excels (I think) both the former in this particular; we fee it contrived in Hell, executed upon Earth, and punished by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the moft diftinct manner,

and grow out of one another in the most natural Method.

The third Qualification of an Epic Poem is its *Greatness*. The Anger of *Achilles* was of such Consequence, that it embroiled the Kings of *Greece*, destroy'd the Heroes of *Troy*, and engaged all the Gods in Factions. *Aeneas's* Settlement in *Italy* produced the *Cæsars*, and gave Birth to the *Roman* Empire. *Milton's* Subject was still greater than either of the former; it does not determine the Fate of single Persons or Nations, but of a whole Species. The united Powers of Hell are joyned together for the Destruction of Mankind, which they effected in part, and would have completed, had not Omnipotence it self interposed. The principal Actors are Man in his greatest Perfection, and Woman in her highest Beauty. Their Enemies are the fallen Angels: The Messiah their Friend, and the Almighty their Protector. In short, every thing that is great in the whole Circle of Being, whether within the Verge of Nature, or out of it, has a proper Part assigned it in this noble Poem.

In Poetry, as in Architecture, not only the whole, but the principal Members, and every part of them, should be Great. I will not presume to say, that the Book of Games in the *Æneid*, or that in the *Iliad*, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend *Virgil's* Simile of a Top, and many other of the same nature in the *Iliad*, as liable to any Censure in this Particular; but I think we may say, without offence to [derogating from] those wonderful Performances, that there is an unquestionable Magnificence in every Part of *Paradise Lost*, and indeed a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan System.

But *Aristotle*, by the Greatness of the Action, does not only mean that it should be great in its Nature, but also in its Duration, or in other Words, that it should have a due Length in it, as well as what we properly call Greatness. The just Measure of this kind of Magnitude, he explains by the following

Similitude. An Animal, no bigger than a Mite, cannot appear perfect to the Eye, because the Sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused Idea of the whole, and not a distinct Idea of all its Parts ; If on the contrary you should suppose an Animal of ten thousand Furlongs in length, the Eye would be so filled with a single Part of it, that it could not give the Mind an Idea of the whole. What these Animals are to the Eye, a very short or a very long Action would be to the Memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. *Homer* and *Virgil* have shewn their principal Art in this Particular: the Action of the *Iliad*, and that of the *Æneid*, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the Intervention [Invention] of *Episodes*, and the Machinery of Gods, with the like Poetical Ornaments, that they make up an agreeable Story sufficient to employ the Memory without overcharging it. *Milton's* Action is enriched with such a variety of Circumstances, that I have taken as much Pleasure in reading the Contents of his Books, as in the best invented Story I ever met with. It is possible, that the Traditions on which the *Iliad* and *Æneid* were built, had more Circumstances in them than the History of *the Fall of Man*, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for *Homer* and *Virgil* to dash the Truth with Fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the Religion of their Country by it. But as for *Milton*, he had not only a very few Circumstances upon which to raise his Poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest Caution in every thing that he added out of his own Invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the Restraints he was under, he has filled his Story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close an Analogy with what is delivered in Holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate Reader, without giving Offence to the most scrupulous.

The Modern Criticks have collected from several Hints in the *Iliad* and *Æneid* the Space of Time, which is taken up by the Action of each of those Poems; but as a great Part of *Milton's* Story was transacted in Regions that lie out of the reach of the Sun and the Sphere of Day, it is impossible to gratifie the Reader with such a Calculation, which indeed would be more curious than inistructive: none of the Criticks, either Ancient or Modern, having laid down Rules to circumscribe the Action of an Epic Poem with any determined number of Years, Days, or Hours.†

This piece of Criticism on Milton's Paradise Lost, shall be carried on in following [Saturdays] Papers.

† See p. 151.



The SPECTATOR.

—Notandi sunt tibi Mores.

Hor.

{Note well the Manners.}

Saturday, January 12. 1712.



HAVING examined the Action of *Paradise Lost*, let us in the next place consider the Actors. These are what *Aristotle* means by [This is *Aristotle's* Method of considering; first] the Fable, and [secondly] the Manners, or, as we generally call them in *English*, the Fable and the Characters.

Homer has excelled all the Heroic Poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his Characters. Every God that is admitted into his Poem, acts a Part which would have been suitable to no other Deity. His Princes are as much distinguished by their Manners as by their Dominions; and even those among them, whose Characters seem wholly made up of Courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of Courage in which they excell. In short, there is scarce a Speech or Action in the *Iliad*, which the Reader may not ascribe to the Person that speaks or acts, without seeing his Name at the Head of it.

Homer does not only out-shine all other Poets in the Variety, but also in the Novelty of his Characters. He has introduced among his *Græcian* Princes a Person, who had lived thrice the Age of Man, and conversed with *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Polyphemus*, and the first Race of Heroes. His principal Actor is the Off-spring [Son] of a Goddess, not to mention the Son [Off-spring] of *Aurora* [other Deities], who has [have] likewise a Place in his Poem, and the venerable *Trojan* Prince, who was the Father of so many Kings and Heroes. There is in these several Characters of *Homer*,

22 CHARACTERS OF HOMER, VIRGIL, AND MILTON COMPARED.

a certain Dignity as well as Novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. Tho', at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a *Vulcan*, that is, a Buffoon among his Gods, and a *Thersites* among his Mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of *Homer* in the Characters of his Poem, both as to their Variety and Novelty. *Æneas* is indeed a perfect Character, but as for *Achates*, tho' he is stiled the Hero's Friend, he does nothing in the whole Poem which may deserve that Title. *Gyas*, *Mneſſeus*, *Sergeſtus*, and *Cloanthus*, are all of them Men of the same Stamp and Character,

—*Fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum* [Virg.]

There are indeed several very natural Incidents in the Part of *Ascanius*; as that of *Dido* cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see any thing new or particular in *Turnus*. *Pallas* and *Evander* are [remote] Copies of *Hector* and *Priam*, as *Lausus* and *Mezentius* are almost Parallels to *Pallas* and *Evander*. The Characters of *Nisus* and *Eurialus* are beautiful, but common. [We must not forget the Parts of *Sinon*, *Camilla*, and some few others, which are beautiful Improvements on the Greek Poet.] In short, there is neither that Variety nor Novelty in the Persons of the *Æneid*, which we meet with in those of the *Iliad*.

If we look into the Characters of *Milton*, we shall find that he has introduced all the Variety that his Poem was capable of receiving. The whole Species of Mankind was in two Persons at the time to which the Subject of his Poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct Characters in these two Persons. We see Man and Woman in the highest Innocence and Perfection, and in the most abject State of Guilt and Infirmary. The two last Characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any Characters either in *Virgil* or *Homer*, or indeed in the whole Circle of Nature.

Milton was so sensible of this Defect in the Subject of his Poem, and of the few Characters it would afford

him, that he has brought into it two Actors of a Shadowy and Fictitious Nature, in the Persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has interwoven in the Body of his Fable a very beautiful and well invented Allegory. But notwithstanding the Fineness of this Allegory may atone for it in some measure; I cannot think that Persons of such a Chymical Existence are proper Actors in an Epic Poem; because there is not that measure of Probability annexed to them, which is requisite in Writings of this kind. [as I shall shew more at large hereafter.]

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an Actress in the *Æneid*, but the Part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired Circumstances in that Divine Work. We find in Mock-Heroic Poems, particularly in the *Dispensary* and the *Lutrin*, several Allegorical Persons of this Nature, which are very beautiful in those Compositions, and may, perhaps, be used as an Argument, that the Authors of them were of Opinion, that* such Characters might have a Place in an Epic Work. For my own part, I should be glad the Reader would think so, for the sake of the Poem I am now examining, and must further add, that if such empty unsubstantial Beings may be ever made use of on this occasion, there were never any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper Actions, than those of which I am now speaking.†

Another Principal Actor in this Poem is the great Enemy of Mankind. The Part of *Ulysses* in *Homer's Odyssy* is very much admired by *Aristotle*, as perplexing that Fable with very agreeable Plots and Intricacies, not only by the many Adventures in his Voyage, and the Subtilty of his Behaviour, but by the various Concealments and Discoveries of his Person in several parts of that Poem. But the Crafty Being I have now mentioned, makes a much longer Voyage than *Ulysses*, puts in practice many more Wiles and Stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of Shapes and Appearances, all of which are severally detected, to the great Delight and Surprize of the Reader.

† See also pp. 43 : 70-72 : 133-135.

We may likewise observe with how much Art the Poet has varied several Characters of the Persons that speak in his infernal Assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting it self towards Man in its full Benevolence under the Three-fold Distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer and a Comforter !

Nor must we omit the Person of *Raphael*, who amidst his Tendernefs and Friendship for Man, shews such a Dignity and Condescension in all his Speech and Behaviour, as are suitable to a Superior Nature. [The Angels are indeed as much diversified in *Milton*, and distinguished by their proper Parts, as the Gods are in *Homer* or *Virgil*. The Reader will find nothing ascribed to *Uriel*, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, or *Raphael*, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective Characters.]

There is another Circumstance in the principal Actors of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, which gives a particular [peculiar] Beauty to those two Poems, and was therefore contrived with very great Judgment. I mean the Authors having chosen for their Heroes Persons who were so nearly related to the People for whom they wrote. *Achilles* was a *Greek*, and *Aeneas* the remote Founder of *Rome*. By this means their Countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their Readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their Story, and sympathized with their Heroes in all their Adventures. A *Roman* could not but rejoice in the Escapes, Successes and Victories of *Aeneas*, and be grieved at any Defeats, Misfortunes, or Disappointments that befel him ; as a *Greek* must have had the same regard for *Achilles*. And it is plain, that each of those Poems have lost this great Advantage, among those Readers to whom their Heroes are as Strangers, or indifferent Persons.

Milton's Poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its Readers, whatever Nation, Country or People he may belong to, not to be related to the Persons who are the principal Actors in it ; but what is still infinitely more to its Advantage, the principal Actors in this Poem are not only our

Progenitors, but our Representatives. We have an actual Interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost Happiness or *Misery* is concerned, and lies at Stake in all their Behaviour.

I shall subjoyn as a Corollary to the foregoing Remark, an admirable Observation out of *Aristotle*, which hath been very much misrepresented in the Quotations of some Modern Criticks. 'If a Man of perfect and consummate Virtue falls into a Misfortune, it raises our Pity, but not our Terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own Case, who do not resemble the Suffering Person. But as that great Philosopher adds, 'If we see a Man of Virtues mixt with Infirmities, fall into any Misfortune, it does not only raise our Pity but our Terror; because we are afraid that the like Misfortunes may happen to our selves, who resemble the Character of the Suffering Person.

I shall take another Opportunity to observe, that a Person of an absolute and consummate Virtue should never be introduced in Tragedy, and shall only remark in this Place, that this [the foregoing] Observation of *Aristotle*, tho' it may be true in other Occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present Case, though the Persons who fall into Misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate Virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own Case; since we are embark'd with them on the same Bottom, and must be Partakers of their Happiness or Misery.

In this, and some other very few Instances, *Aristotle's* Rules for Epic Poetry (which he had drawn from his Reflections upon *Homer*) cannot be supposed to quadrate exactly with the Heroic Poems which have been made since his Time; as it is plain his Rules would have been still more perfect, cou'd he have perused the *Aeneid* - which was made some hundred Years after his Death.

In my next I shall go through other parts of Milton's Poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a Comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

The SPECTATOR.

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.

Hor

{He knows what best befits each Character.}

Saturday. January 19. 1712.



WE have already taken a general Survey of the Fable and Characters in *Milton's Paradise Lost*: The Parts which remain to be consider'd, according to *Aristotle's* Method, are the *Sentiments* and the Language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must advertise my Reader, that it is my Design as soon as I have finished my general Reflections on these four several Heads, to give particular Instances out of the Poem which is now before us of Beauties and Imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other Particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the Reader may not judge too hastily of this Piece of Criticism, or look upon it as Imperfect, before he has seen the whole Extent of it.

The Sentiments in an [all] Epic Poem are the Thoughts and Behaviour which the Author ascribes to the Persons whom he introduces, and are *just* when they are conformable to the Characters of the several Persons. The Sentiments have likewise a relation to *Things* as well as *Persons*, and are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the Subject. If in either of these Cases the Poet argues, or explains, magnifies or diminishes, raises Love or Hatred, Pity or Terror, or any other Passion, we ought to consider whether the Sentiments he makes use of are proper for these [their] Ends. *Homer* is censured by the Criticks for

his Defect as to this Particular in several parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssy*, tho' at the same time those who have treated this great Poet with Candour, have attributed this Defect to the Times in which he lived. It was the fault of the Age, and not of *Homer*, if there wants that Delicacy in some of his Sentiments, which appears in the Works of Men of a much inferior Genius. Besides, if there are Blemishes in any particular Thoughts, there is an infinite Beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many Poets who wou'd not have fallen into the mea[n]ness of some of his Sentiments, there are none who cou'd have rise[n] up to the Greatness of others. *Virgil* has excelled all others in the Propriety of his Sentiments. *Milton* shines likewise very much in this Particular: Nor must we omit one Consideration which adds to his Honour and Reputation. *Homer* and *Virgil* introduced Persons whose Characters are commonly known among Men, and such as are to be met with either in History, or in ordinary Conversation. *Milton's* Characters, most of them, lie out of Nature, and were to be formed purely by his own Invention. It shews a greater Genius in *Shakespear* to have drawn his *Calyban*, than his *Hotspur* or *Julius Cæsar*: The one was to be supplied out of his own Imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon Tradition, History and Observation. It was much easier therefore for *Homer* to find proper Sentiments for an Assembly of *Grecian* Generals, than for *Milton* to diversifie his Infernal Council with proper Characters, and inspire them with a variety of Sentiments. The Loves of *Dido* and *Æneas* are only Copies of what has passed between other Persons. *Adam* and *Eve*, before the Fall, are a different Species from that of Mankind, who are descended from them, and none but a Poet of the most unbounded Invention, and the most exquisite Judgment, cou'd have filled their Conversation and Behaviour with such Beautiful Circumstances during their State of Innocence.

Nor is it sufficient for an Epic Poem to be filled with such Thoughts as are *Natural*, unless it abound also with such as are *Sublime*. *Virgil* in this Particular falls short of *Homer*. He has not indeed so many Thoughts that are Low and Vulgar; but at the same time has not so many Thoughts that are Sublime and Noble. The truth of it is, *Virgil* seldom rises into very astonishing Sentiments, where he is not fired by the *Iliad*. He every where charms and pleases us by the force of his own Genius; but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his Hints from *Homer*.

Milton's chief Talent, and indeed his distinguishing Excellence, lies in the Sublimity of his Thoughts. There are others of the Moderns who rival him in every other part of Poetry; but in the greatness of his Sentiments he triumphs over all the Poets both Modern and Ancient, *Homer* only excepted. It is impossible for the Imagination of Man to distend it self with greater Ideas, than those which he has laid together in his first, [second,] and sixth Book[s]. The seventh, which describes the Creation of the World, is likewise wonderfully Sublime, tho' not so apt to stir up Emotion in the Mind of the Reader, nor consequently so perfect in the Epic way of Writing, because it is filled with less Action. Let the Reader compare what *Longinus* has observed on several Passages of *Homer*, and he will find Parallels for most of them in the *Paradise Lost*.

From what has been said we may infer, that as there are two kinds of Sentiments, the Natural and the Sublime, which are always to be pursued in an Heroic Poem, there are also two kinds of Thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of Thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in *Virgil*: He has none of those little Points and Puerilities that are so often to be met with in *Ovid*, none of the

Epigrammatick Turns of *Lucan*, none of those swelling Sentiments which are so frequent[ly] in *Statius* and *Claudian*, none of those mixed Embellishments of *Tasso*. Everything is just and natural. His Sentiments shew that he had a perfect Insight into Human Nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it. *I remember but one Line in him which has been objected against, by the Criticks, as a point of Wit. It is in his ninth Book, where *Funo* speaking of the *Trojans*, how they survived the Ruins of their City, expresses herself in the following Words;

*Num capti potuere capi, num incensa cremarunt
Pergama?* —————

*Were the Trojans taken even after they were Captives,
or did Troy burn even when it was in Flames?*

Mr. *Dryden* has in some Places, which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented *Virgil's* way of thinking as to this Particular, in the Translation he has given us of the *Aeneid*. I do not remember that *Homer* any where falls into the Faults above mentioned, which were indeed the false Refinements of later Ages. *Milton*, it must be confessed, has sometimes erred in this Respect, as I shall shew more at large in another Paper; tho' considering how all the Poets of the Age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did sometimes comply with that [the] vicious Taste which prevails so much among Modern Writers.

But since several Thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an Epic Poet should not only avoid such Sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are low and vulgar. *Homer* has opened a great Field of Raillery to Men of more Delicacy than Greatness of Genius, by the Homeliness of some of his Sentiments. But, as I have before said, these

* From 'I remember' to 'Flames?' omitted in second edition.

30 SENTIMENTS EXCITING LAUGHTER SHOULD BE EXCLUDED.

are rather to be imputed to the Simplicity of the Age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any Imperfection in that Divine Poet. *Zoilus*, among the Ancients, and *Monsieur Perrault*, among the Moderns, pushed their Ridicule very far upon him, on account of some such Sentiments. There is no Blemish to be observed in *Virgil* under this Head, and but very few in *Milton*.

I shall give but one Instance of this Impropropriety of Sentiments in *Homer*, and at the same time compare it with an Instance of the same nature, both in *Virgil* and *Milton*. Sentiments which raise Laughter, can very seldom be admitted with any decency into an Heroic Poem, whose Business it* is to excite Passions of a much nobler Nature. *Homer*, however, in his Characters of *Vulcan* and *Therjites*, in his Story of *Mars* and *Venus*, in his Behaviour of *Irus*, and in other Passages, has been observed to have lapsed into the Burlesque Character, and to have departed from that serious Air which seems essential to the Magnificence of an Epic Poem. I remember but one Laugh in the whole *Aeneid*, which rises in the Fifth Book upon *Monates*, where he is represented as thrown overboard, and drying himself upon a Rock. But this Piece of Mirth is so well timed, that the severest Critick can have nothing to say against it, for it is in the Book of Games and Diversions, where the Reader's Mind may be supposed to be sufficiently relaxed for such an Entertainment. The only Piece of Pleasantry in *Paradise Lost*, is where the Evil Spirits are described as rallying the Angels upon the Success of their new invented Artillery. This Passage I look upon to be the silliest [most exceptionable] in the whole Poem, as being nothing else but a string of Punns, and those too very indifferent ones.

———*Satan beheld their Püght,
And to his Mates thus in derision call'd.
O Friends, why come not on those Victors proud*

*E'er while they fierce were coming, and when we,
 To entertain them fair with open Front,
 And Breast, (what could we more) propounded terms
 Of Composition, straight they chang'd their Minds,
 Flew off, and into strange Vagaries fell,
 As they would dance, yet for a Dance they seem'd
 Somewhat extravagant, and wild, perhaps.
 For Joy of offer'd Peace; but I suppose
 If our Proposals once again were heard,
 We should compel them to a quick Result.*

*To whom thus Belial in like gamefome mood.
 Leader, the Terms we sent, were Terms of weight,
 Of hard Contents, and full of force urg'd home,
 Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
 And stumbled many: who receives them right,
 Had need, from Head to Foot, well understand;
 Not understood, this Gift they have besides,
 They shew us when our Foes walk not upright.*

*Thus they among themselves in pleasant vein
 Stood scoffing——*



The SPECTATOR.

*Ne quicunque Deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro nuper & oltro,
Migret in Obscuras humili sermone tabernas :
Aut dum vitat humum, nuces & inania captet.* Hor.

{ *But then they did not wrong themselves so much,
To make a God, a Hero, or a King
(Strip of his golden Crown, and purple Robe)
Descend to a Mechanick Dialect ;
Nor (to avoid such Meanness) soaring high,
With empty Sound, and airy Notions, fly.*
Roscommon. }

Saturday. January 26. 1712.



HAVING already treated of the Fable, the Characters, and Sentiments in the *Paradise Lost*, we are in the last place to consider the *Language* ; and as the learned World is very much divided upon *Milton* as to this Point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my Opinions, and encline to those who judge the most advantageously of the Author.

It is requisite that the Language of an Heroic Poem should be both Perspicuous and Sublime. In Proportion as either of these two Qualities are wanting, the Language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary Qualification ; inasmuch, that a good-natured Reader sometimes overlooks a little Slip even in the Grammar or Syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the Poet's Sense. Of this kind is that Passage in *Milton*, wherein he speaks of *Satan*.

———*God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valu'd he nor shunn'd.*

And that in which he describes *Adam* and *Eve*.

*Adam the goodliest Man of Men since born
His Sons, the fairest of her Daughters Eve.*

It is plain, that in the former of these Passages, according to the natural Syntax, the Divine Persons mentioned in the first Line are represented as created Beings; and that in the other, *Adam* and *Eve* are confounded with their Sons and Daughters. Such little Blemishes as these, when the Thought is great and natural, we should, with *Horace*, impute to a pardonable Inadvertency, or to the Weakness of Human Nature, which cannot attend to each minute Particular, and give the last finishing to every Circumstance in so long a Work. The Ancient Criticks therefore, who were acted by a Spirit of Candour, rather than that of Cavilling, invented certain figures of Speech, on purpose to palliate little Errors of this nature in the Writings of those Authors, who had so many greater Beauties to atone for them.

If Clearness and Perspicuity were only to be consulted, the Poet would have nothing else to do but to cloath his Thoughts in the most plain and natural Expressions. But, since it often happens, that the most obvious Phrases, and those which are used in ordinary Conversation, become too familiar to the Ear, and contract a kind of Meanness by passing through the Mouths of the Vulgar, a Poet should take particular care to guard himself against Idiomatick ways of speaking. *Ovid* and *Lucan* have many Poornesses of Expression upon this account, as taking up with the first Phrases that offered, without putting themselves to the trouble of looking after such as would not only have been natural, but also elevated and sublime. *Milton* has but few Failings in this kind, of which,

however, you may see an Instance or two [meet with some Instances, as] in the following Passages.

*Embrid's and Idiots. Eremites and Fryars,
White, Black, and Grey, with all their Trumpery,
Here Pilgrims roam——*

—— Awhile Discourse they hold.

*No fear lest Dinner cool; when thus began
Our Author——*

*Who of all Ages to succeed, but feeling
The Evil on him brought by me, will curse
My Head, ill fare our Ancestor impure,
For this we may thank Adam——*

The great Masters in Composition know very well that many an elegant Phrase becomes improper for a Poet or an Orator, when it has been debased by common use. For this reason the Works of Ancient Authors, which are written in dead Languages, have a great Advantage over those which are written in Languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean Phrases or Idioms in *Virgil* and *Homer*, they would not shock the Ear of the most delicate Modern Reader, so much as they would have done that of an old *Greek* or *Roman*, because we never hear them pronounced in our Streets, or in ordinary Conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient, that the Language of an Epic Poem be Perspicuous, unless it be also Sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common Forms and ordinary Phrases of Speech. The Judgment of a Poet very much discovers it self in shunning the common Roads of Expression, without falling into such ways of Speech as may seem stiff and unnatural; he must not swell into a false Sublime, by endeavouring to avoid the other Extream. Among the *Greeks*, *Eschylus*, and sometimes *Sophocles*, were guilty of this Fault; among the *Latins*, *Claudian* and *Statius*; and among our own Countrymen, *Shakespeare* and *Lee*. In these Authors the Affectation of Greatness often hurts the Perspicuity of the Style, as in

many others the Endeavour after Perspicuity prejudices its Greatness.

Aristotle has observed, that the Idiomatick Stile may be avoided, and the Sublime formed, by the following Methods. First, by the use of Metaphors, like those of *Milton*.

Imparadis'd in one anothers Arms,
 ——— And in his Hand a Reed
 Stood waving tip't with Fire; ———
 The grassie Clods now calv'd. ———

In these and several [innumerable] other Instances, the Metaphors are very bold but beautiful: I must however observe, that the Metaphors are not thick sown in *Milton*, which always favours too much of Wit; that they never clash with one another, which as *Aristotle* observes, turns a Sentence into a kind of an Enigma or Riddle; and that he seldom makes use of them where the proper and natural Words will do as well.

Another way of raising the Language, and giving it a Poetical Turn, is to make use of the Idioms of other Tongues. *Virgil* is full of the *Greek* Forms of Speech, which the Criticks call *Hellenisms*, as *Horace* in his Odes abounds with them much more than *Virgil*. I need not mention the several Dialects which *Homer* has made use of for this end. *Milton*, in conformity with the Practice of the Ancient Poets, and with *Aristotle's* Rule has infused a great many *Latinisms*, as well as *Græcisms*, [and sometimes *Hebraisms*,] into the Language of his Poem; as towards the Beginning of it.

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
 In which they were, or the fierce Pains not feel.
 [Yet to their Gen'ral's Voice they soon obey'd.]
 ——— Who shall tempt with wandring Feet
 The dark unbottom'd Infinite Abyss,
 And through the palpable Obscure find out his way,

*His uncouth way, or spread his airy Flight
Upborn with indefatigable Wings
Over the vast Abrupt!—*

[—So both ascend
In the Visions of God—

B. 2.]

Under this Head may be reckoned the placing the Adjective after the Substantive, the transposition of Words, the turning the Adjective into a Substantive, with several other Foreign Modes of Speech, which this Poet has naturalized to give his Verse the greater Sound, and throw it out of Prose.

The third Method mentioned by *Aristotle*, is that which [what] agrees with the Genius of the *Greek* Language more than with that of any other Tongue, and is therefore more used by *Homer* than by any other Poet. I mean the lengthning of a Phrase by the Addition of Words, which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contracting of particular Words by the Insertion or Omission of certain Syllables. *Milton* has put in practice this Method of raising his Language, as far as the nature of our Tongue will permit, as in the Passage above-mentioned, *Eremit[e]*, [for] what is Hermit[e], in common Discourse. If you observe the Measure of his Verse, he has with great Judgment suppressed a Syllable in several Words, and shortened those of two Syllables into one, by which Method, besides the abovementioned Advantage, he has given a greater Variety to his Numbers. But this Practice is more particularly remarkable in the Names of Persons and of Countries, as *Beëlzebub*, *Hefsebon*, and in many other Particulars, wherein he has either changed the Name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better deviate from the Language of the Vulgar.

The same Reason recommended to him several old Words, which also makes his Poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater Air of Antiquity.

I must likewise take notice, that there are in *Milton*

several Words of his own Coining, as *Cerberian*, *miscreated*, *Hell-doom'd*, *Embryon* Atoms, and many others. If the Reader is offended at this Liberty in our *English* Poet, I would recommend him to a Discourse in *Plutarch*, which shews us how frequently *Homer* has made use of the same Liberty.

Milton, by the above-mentioned Helps, and by the choice of the noblest Words and Phrases which our Tongue wou'd afford him, has carried our Language to a greater height than any of the *English* Poets have ever done before or after him, and made the Sublimity of his Stile equal to that of his Sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these Observations of *Milton's* Stile, because it is that part of him in which he appears the most singular. The Remarks I have here made upon the Practice of other Poets, with my Observations out of *Aristotle*, will perhaps alleviate the Prejudice which some have taken to his Poem upon this Account; tho' after all, I must confess, that I think his Stile, tho' admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those Methods, which *Aristotle* has prescribed for the raising of it.

This Redundancy of those several ways of Speech which *Aristotle* calls *foreign Language*, and with which *Milton* has so very much enriched, and in some places darkned the Language of his Poem, is [was] the more proper for his use, because his Poem is written in Blank Verse. Rhyme, without any other Assistance, throws the Language off from Prose, and very often makes an indifferent Phrase pass unregarded; but where the Verse is not built upon Rhymes, there Pomp of Sound, and Energy of Expression, are indispensably necessary to support the Stile, and keep it from falling into the Flatness of Prose.

Those who have not a Taste for this Elevation of Stile, and are apt to ridicule a Poet when he departs from the common Forms of Expression, would do well to see how *Aristotle* has treated an ancient Author,

called *Euclid*, for his insipid Mirth upon this Occasion. Mr. *Dryden* used to call this sort of Men his Profe-Criticks.

I should, under this Head of the Language, consider *Milton's* Numbers, in which he has made use of several Elisions, that are not customary among other *English* Poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the Letter *Y*, when it precedes a Vowel. This, and some other Innovations in the Measure of his Verse, has varied his Numbers in such a manner, as makes them incapable of satiating the Ear and cloying the Reader, which the same uniform Measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual Returns of Rhyme never fail to do in long Narrative Poems. I shall close these Reflections upon the Language of *Paradise Lost*, with observing that *Milton* has copied after *Homer*, rather than *Virgil*, in the length of his Periods, the Copiousness of his Phrases, and the running of his Verses into one another.



The SPECTATOR.

— *Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendor maculis, quas aut Incuria fudit,
Aut Humana parum cavit Natura*— Hor.

{ *But in a Poem elegantly writ,
I will not quarrel with a slight Mistake,
Such as our Nature's frailty may excuse.*
Roscommon. }

Saturday, February 2. 1712.



Have now consider'd *Milton's Paradise Lost* under those four great Heads of the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments, and the Language; and have shewn that he excels, in general, under each of these Heads. I hope that I have made several Discoveries that [which] may appear new, even to those who are versed in Critical Learning. Were I indeed to chuse my Readers, by whose Judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the *French* and *Italian* Criticks, but also with the Ancient and Moderns who have written in either of the learned Languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, without which a Man very often fancies that he understands a Critick, when in reality he does not comprehend his Meaning.

It is in Criticism, as in all other Sciences and Speculations; one who brings with him any implicit Notions and Observations which he has made in his reading of the Poets, will find his own Reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little Hints that had passed in his Mind, perfected and im-

proved in the Works of a good Critick; whereas one who has not these previous Lights, is very often an utter Stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong Interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient, that a Man who sets up for a Judge in Criticism, should have perused the Authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and Logical Head. Without this Talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own Blunders, mistakes the Sense of those he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his Thoughts to another with Clearness and Perspicuity. *Aristotle*, who was the best Critick, was also one of the best Logicians that ever appeared in the World.

Mr. *Lock's* Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd Book for a Man to make himself Master of, who would get a Reputation by Critical Writings; though at the same time it is very certain, that an Author who has not learn'd the Art of distinguishing between Words and Things, and of ranging his Thoughts, and setting them in proper Lights, whatever Notions he may have, will lose himself in Confusion and Obscurity. I might further observe, that there is not a *Greek* or *Latin* Critick, who has not shewn, even in the stile of his Criticisms, that he was a Master of all the Elegance and Delicacy of his Native Tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd, than for a Man to set up for a Critick, without a good Insight into all the Parts of Learning; whereas many of those who have endeavoured to signalize themselves by Works of this Nature among our *English* Writers, are not only defective in the above-mentioned Particulars, but plainly discover by the Phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary Systems of Arts and Sciences. A few general Rules extracted out of the *French* Authors, with a certain Cant of Words, has sometimes set up an Illiterate heavy Writer for a most judicious and formidable Critick.

One great Mark, by which you may discover a Critick who has neither Taste nor Learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any Passage in an Author which has not been before received and applauded by the Publick, and that his Criticism turns wholly upon little Faults and Errors. This part of a Critick is so very easie to succeed in, that we find every ordinary Reader, upon the publishing of a new Poem, has Wit and Ill-nature enough to turn several Passages of it into Ridicule, and very often in the right Place. This Mr. *Dryden* has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated Lines,

*Errors, like Straws, upon the Surface flow:
He who would search for Pearls must dive below.*

A true Critick ought to dwell rather upon Excellencies than Imperfections, to discover the concealed Beauties of a Writer, and communicate to the World such things as are worth their Observation. The most exquisite Words and finest Strokes of an Author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable, to a Man who wants a Relish for polite Learning; and they are these, which a sower [sour] undistinguishing Critick generally attacks with the greatest Violence. *Tully* observes, that it is very easie to brand or fix a Mark upon what he calls *Verbum ardens*, or, as it may be rendered into *English*, a *glowing bold Expression*, and to turn it into Ridicule by a cold ill-natured Criticism. A little Wit is equally capable of exposing a Beauty, and of aggravating a Fault; and though such a Treatment of an Author naturally produces Indignation in the Mind of an understanding Reader, it has however its effect among the generality of those whose Hands it falls into, the Rabble of Mankind being very apt to think that every thing which is laughed at with any mixture of Wit, is ridiculous in it self.

Such a Mirth as this, is always unseasonable in a Critick, as it rather prejudices the Reader than con-

vinces him, and is capable of making a Beauty, as well as a Blemish, the Subject of Derision. A Man, who cannot write with Wit on a proper Subject, is dull and stupid, but one who shews it in an improper place, is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a Man who has the Gift of Ridicule is very* apt to find Fault with any thing that gives him an Opportunity of exerting his beloved Talent, and very often censures a Passage, not because there is any Fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of Pleasantry are very unfair and disingenuous in Works of Criticism, in which the greatest Masters, both Ancient and Modern, have always appeared with a serious and instructive Air.

As I intend in my next Paper to shew the Defects in *Milton's Paradise Lost*, I thought fit to premise these few Particulars, to the End that the Reader may know I enter upon it. as on a very ungrateful Work, and that I shall just point at the Imperfections, without endeavouring to enflame them with Ridicule. I must also observe with *Longinus*, that the Productions of a great Genius, with many Lapses and Inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the Works of an inferior kind of Author, which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the Rules of correct Writing.

I shall conclude my Paper with a Story out of *Boccacini*, which sufficiently shews us the Opinion that Judicious Author entertained of the sort of Criticks I have been here mentioning. A famous Critick, says he, having gathered together all the Faults of an Eminent Poet, made a Present of them to *Apollo*, who received them very graciously, and resolved to make the Author a suitable Return for the Trouble he had been at in collecting them. In order to this, he set before him a Sack of Wheat, as it had been just threshed out of the Sheaf. He then bid him pick out the Chaff from among the Corn, and lay it aside by it self. The Critick applied himself to the Task with great Industry and Pleasure, and after having made the due Separation, was presented by *Apollo* with the Chaff for his Pains.

The SPECTATOR.

—velut si

Egregio infpersos reprehendas corpore naves. Hor.
 { *As perfect beauties often have a Mole.* Creech. }

Saturday, February 9, 1712.



FFTER what I have said in my last *Saturday's* Paper, I shall enter on the Subject of this without farther Preface, and remark the several Defects which appear in the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments, and the Language of *Milton's Paradise Lost*; not doubting but the Reader will pardon me, if I alledge at the same time whatever may be said for the Extenuation of such Defects. The first Imperfection which I shall observe in the Fable is, that the Event of it is unhappy.

The Fable of every Poem is according to *Aristotle's* Division either *Simple* or *Implex*. It is called Simple when there is no change of Fortune in it, Implex when the Fortune of the chief Actor changes from Bad to Good, or from Good to Bad. The Implex Fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose, because it is most proper to stir up the Passions of the Reader, and to surprize him with a greater variety of Accidents.

The Implex Fable is therefore of two kinds: In the first the chief Actor makes his way through a long Series of Dangers and Difficulties, 'till he arrives at Honour and Prosperity, as we see in the Stories of *Ulysses* and **Æneas*.* In the second, the chief Actor in the Poem falls from some eminent pitch of Honour and Prosperity, into Misery and Disgrace. Thus we see *Adam* and *Eve* sinking from a State of Innocence and Happiness, into the most abject Condition of Sin and Sorrow.

The most taking Tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last sort of Implex Fable, particularly the Tragedy of *OEdipus*, which proceeds upon a Story, if we may believe *Aristotle*, the most proper for Tragedy that could be invented by the Wit of Man. I have taken some pains in a former Paper to shew, that this kind of Implex Fable, wherein the Event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an Audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent Pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late Years in our own Country, are raised upon contrary Plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of Fable, which is the most perfect in Tragedy, is not so proper for an Heroic Poem.

Milton seems to have been sensible of this Imperfection in his Fable, and has therefore endeavoured to cure it by several Expedients; particularly by the Mortification which the great Adversary of Mankind meets with upon his return to the Assembly of Infernal Spirits, as it is described in that [a] beautiful Passage of the tenth Book; and likewise by the Vision, wherein *Adam* at the close of the Poem sees his Off-spring triumphing over his great Enemy, and himself restored to a happier *Paradise* than that from which he fell.†

There is another Objection against *Milton's* Fable, which is indeed almost the same with the former, tho' placed in a different Light, namely, That the Hero in the *Paradise Lost* is unsuccessful, and by no means a Match for his Enemies. This gave occasion to Mr. *Dryden's* Reflection, that the Devil was in reality *Milton's* Hero. I think I have obviated this Objection in my first Paper. The *Paradise Lost* is an Epic, [or a] Narrative Poem, he that looks for an Hero in it, searches for that which *Milton* never intended; but if he will needs fix the Name of an Hero upon any Person in it, 'tis certainly the *Messiah* who

† See p. 147.

is the Hero, both in the Principal Action, and in the [chief] Epifode[s]. Paganism could not furnish out a real Action for a Fable greater than that of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid*, and therefore an Heathen could not form a higher Notion of a Poem than one of that kind, which they call an Heroic. Whether *Milton's* is not of a greater [sublimar] Nature I will not presume to determine. it is sufficient that I shew there is in the *Paradise Lost* all the Greatness of Plan, Regularity of Design, and masterly Beauties which we discover in *Homer* and *Virgil*.

I must in the next Place observe, that *Milton* has interwoven in the Texture of his Fable some Particulars which do not seem to have Probability enough for an Epic Poem, particularly in the Actions which he ascribes to *Sin* and *Death*, and the Picture which he draws of the *Lymbo of Vanity*, with other Passages in the second Book. Such Allegories rather favour of the Spirit of *Spencer* and *Ariosto*, than of *Homer* and *Virgil*.

In the Structure of his Poem he has likewise admitted of too many Digressions. It is finely observed by *Aristotle*, that the Author of an Heroic Poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his Work as he can into the Mouths of those who are his Principal Actors. *Aristotle* has given no Reason for this Precept; but I presume it is because the Mind of the Reader is more awed and elevated when he hears *Aeneas* or *Achilles* speak, than when *Virgil* or *Homer* talk in their own Persons. Besides that assuming the Character of an eminent Man is apt to fire the Imagination, and raise the Ideas of the Author. *Tully* tells us, mentioning his Dialogue of Old Age, in which *Cato* is the chief Speaker, that upon a Review of it he was agreeably imposed upon, and fancied that it was *Cato*, and not he himself, who utter'd his Thoughts on that Subject.

If the Reader would be at the pains to see how the Story of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* is delivered by

Persons who act in it, he will be surprized to find how little in either of these Poems proceeds from the Authors. *Milton* has, in the general disposition of his Fable, very finely observed this great Rule; inasmuch, that there is scarce a third part of it which comes from the Poet; the rest is spoken either by *Adam* and *Eve*, or by some Good or Evil Spirit who is engaged either in their Destruction or Defence.

From what has been here observed it appears, that Digressions are by no means to be allowed of in an Epic Poem. If the Poet, even in the ordinary course of his Narration, should speak as little as possible, he should certainly never let his Narration sleep for the sake of any Reflections of his own. I have often observed, with a secret Admiration, that the longest Reflection in the *Aeneid* is in that Passage of the Tenth Book, where *Turnus* is represent[ed] as dressing himself in the Spoils of *Pallas*, whom he had slain. *Virgil* here lets his Fable stand still for the sake of the following Remark. *How is the Mind of Man ignorant of Futurity, and unable to bear prosperous Fortune with Moderation? The time will come when Turnus shall wish that he had left the Body of Pallas untouched, and curse the Day on which he dressed himself in these Spoils.* As the great Event of the *Aeneid*, and the Death of *Turnus*, whom *Aeneas* slew because he saw him adorned with the Spoils of *Pallas*, turns upon this Incident, *Virgil* went out of his way to make this Reflection upon it, without which so small a Circumstance might possibly have slipped out of his Reader's Memory. *Lucan*, who was an Injudicious Poet, lets drop his Story very frequently for the sake of [his] unnecessary Digressions or his *Diverticula*, as *Scaliger* calls them. If he gives us an Account of the Prodigious which preceded the Civil War, he declaims upon the Occasion, and shews how much happier it would be for Man, if he did not feel his Evil Fortune before it comes to pass, and suffer not only by its real Weight, but by the Apprehension of it. *Milton's Complaint*

of his Blindness, his Panegyrick on Marriage, his Reflections on *Adam* and *Eve's* going naked, of the Angels eating, and several other Passages in his Poem, are liable to the same Exception, tho' I must confess there is so great a Beauty in these very Digressions, that I would not wish them out of his Poem.

I have, in a former Paper, spoken of the *Characters* of *Milton's Paradise Lost*, and declared my Opinion, as to the Allegorical Persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the *Sentiments*, I think they are sometimes defective under the following Heads; First, as there are some [several] of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into Puns. Of this last kind I am afraid is that in the First Book, where, speaking of the Pigmies, he calls them.

————— *The small Infantry*
Warr'd on by Cranes —————

Another Blemish that appears in some of his Thoughts, is his frequent Allusion to Heathen Fables, which are not certainly of a Piece with the Divine Subject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with these Allusions, where the Poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does in some Places, but where he mentions them as Truths and Matters of Fact. The Limits of my Paper will not give me leave to be particular in Instances of this kind: The Reader will easily remark them in his Perusal of the Poem.

A Third Fault in his Sentiments, is an unnecessary Ostentation of Learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain that both *Homer* and *Virgil* were Masters of all the Learning of their Times, but it shews it self in their Works after an indirect and concealed manner. *Milton* seems ambitious of letting us know, by his Excursions on Free-will and Predestination, and his many Glances upon History, Astronomy, Geography and the like, as well as by the Terms and Phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole Circle of Arts and Sciences.

If, in the last place, we consider the *Language* of this great Poet, we must allow what I have hinted in a former Paper, that it is [often] too much laboured, and sometimes obscured by old Words, Transpositions, and Foreign Idioms. *Seneca's* Objection to the Stile of a great Author, *Riget ejus oratio, nihil in eâ placidum, nihil lenè*, is what many Criticks make to *Milton*: as I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apologized for it in another Paper; to which I may further add, that *Milton's* Sentiments and Ideas were so wonderfully Sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full Strength and Beauty, without having recourse to these Foreign Assistances. Our Language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of Soul, which furnished him with such glorious Conceptions.

A second Fault in his Language is, that he often affects a kind of Jingle in his Words, as in the following Passages, and many others:

And brought into the World a World of woe.

————— *Begirt th' Almighty Throne*

Befeeching or besieging—————

This tempted our attempt—————

At one Slight bound high overleapt all bound.

I know there are Figures of this kind of Speech, that some of the greatest Ancients have been guilty of it, and that *Aristotle* himself has given it a place in his Rhetorick among the Beauties of that Art. But as it is in itself poor and trifling, it is I think at present universally exploded by all the Masters of polite Writing.

The last Fault which I shall take notice of in *Milton's* Stile, is the frequent use of what the Learned call *Technical Words*, or Terms of Art. It is one of the great Beauties of Poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of it self in such easy Language as may be understood by ordinary Readers: Besides that the Knowledge of a Poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than

drawn from Books and Systems. I have often wondered how Mr. *Dryden* could translate a Passage of *Virgil* after the following manner.

*Tack to the Larboard, and stand off to Sea,
Veer Star-board Sea and Land.*————

Milton makes use of *Larboard* in the same manner. When he is upon Building, he mentions *Doric Pillars*, *Pilasters*, *Cornice*, *Frezze*, *Architrave*. When he talks of Heavenly Bodies. you meet with *Eccliptick*, and *Eccentric*, the *trepidation*, *Stars dropping from the Zenith*, *Rays culminating from the Equator*. To which might be added many Instances of the like kind in several other Arts and Sciences.

I shall in my next *Saturday's** Paper [Papers] give an Account of the many particular Beauties in *Milton*, which would have been too long to insert under those general Heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this Piece of Criticism.



The SPECTATOR.

— *volet hæc sub luce videri,*
Fuâicis argutum quæ non formidat acumen. Hor.

{ — *Some choose the clearest Light,*
And boldly challenge the most piercing Eye. Roscommon. }

Saturday, February 16. 1712.



Have seen in the Works of a Modern Philosopher, a Map of the Spots in the Sun. My last Paper of the Faults and Blemishes in *Milton's Paradise Lost*, may be consider'd as a Piece of the same Nature. To pursue the Allusion: As it is observ'd, that among the bright parts of the Luminous Body above-mentioned, there are some which glow more intensely, and dart a stronger Light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shewn *Milton's Poem* to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such Beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest. *Milton* has propos'd the Subject of his Poem in the following Verses.

*Of Mans first disobedience, and the fruit
 Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
 Brought Death into the World and all our woe,
 With loss of Eden, 'till one greater Man
 Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,
 Sing Heav'nly Muse—*

These Lines are perhaps as plain, simple and unadorned as any of the whole Poem, in which particular the Author has conform'd himself to the Example of *Homer*, and the Precept of *Horace*.

His Invocation to a Work which turns in a great

measure upon the Creation of the World, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired *Moses* in those Books from whence our Author drew his Subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first Production of Nature. This whole Exordium rises very happily into noble Language and Sentiment, as I think the Transition to the Fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural.

The nine Days Astonishment, in which the Angels lay entranced after their dreadful Overthrow and Fall from Heaven, before they could recover either the use of Thought or Speech, is a noble *Circumstance*, and very finely imagined. The Division of Hell into Seas of Fire, and into firm Ground impregnated with the same furious Element, with that particular Circumstance of the exclusion of *Hope* from those Infernal Regions, are Instances of the same great and fruitful Invention.

The Thoughts in the first Speech and Description of *Satan*, who is one of the principal Actors in this Poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full Idea of him. His Pride, Envy and Revenge, Obstinacy, Despair and Impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first Speech is a Complication of all those Passions which discover themselves separately in several other of his Speeches in the Poem. The whole part of this great Enemy of Mankind is filled with such Incidents as are very apt to raise and terrify the Reader's Imagination. Of this Nature, in the Book now before us, is his being the first that awakens out of the general Trance, with his Posture on the burning Lake, his rising from it, and the Description of his Shield and Spear.

*Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate,
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed, his other parts beside
Prone on the Flood, extended long and large,*

*Lay floating many a rood———
 Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
 His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames
 Driv'n backward slope their pointing Spires, and rowl'd
 In Billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid vale.
 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
 Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
 That felt unusual weight———*

*———His pondrous Shield
 Ethereal temper, massie, large and round
 Behind him cast; the broad circumference
 Hung on his Shoulders like the Moon, whose orb
 Thro' Optick Glass the Tuscan Artists view
 At Ev'ning from the top of Fesole,
 Or in Valdarno to descry new Lands,
 Rivers or Mountains on her spotty Globe.
 His Spear to equal which the tallest pine
 Hewn on Norwegian Hills to be the Mast
 Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand
 He walk'd with to support uneasy Steps
 Over the burning Marl———*

To which we may add his Call to the fallen Angels
 that lay plunged and stupified in the Sea of Fire.

*He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded———*

But there is no single Passage in the whole Poem
 worked up to a greater Sublimity, than that wherein
 his Person is described in those celebrated Lines:

*——— He, above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent
 Stood like a Tower, &c.*

His Sentiments are every way answerable to his Character, and are* fuitable to a created Being of the most exalted and most depraved Nature. Such is that in which he takes Possession of his Place of Torments.

———*Hail Horrors, hail
Infernal World, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor, one who brings
A mind not to be changed by place or time.*

And afterwards,

———*Here at least
We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition, tho' in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*

Amidst those Impieties which this Enraged Spirit utters in other Places of the Poem, the Author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a Religious Reader; his Words, as the Poet himself describes them, bearing only a *semblance of Worth, not Substance*. He is likewise with great Art described as owning his Adversary to be Almighty. Whatever perverse Interpretation he puts on the Justice, Mercy, and other Attributes of the Supreme Being, he frequently confesses his Omnipotence, that being the Perfection he was forced to allow him, and the only Consideration which could support his Pride under the Shame of his Defeat.

Nor must I here omit that beautiful Circumstance of his bursting out in Tears, upon his Survey of those innumerable Spirits whom he had involved in the same Guilt and Ruin with himself.

———*He now prepared
To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his Peers: Attention held them mute.
Thrice he assayed, and thrice in spite of Scorn
Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth——*

The Catalogue of Evil Spirits has a great deal [Abundance] of Learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of

Poetry, which rises in a great measure from his describing the Places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of Rivers so frequent among the Ancient Poets. The Author had doubtless in this place *Homer's* Catalogue of Ships, and *Virgil's* List of Warriors in his view. The Characters of *Moloch* and *Belial* prepare the Reader's Mind for their respective Speeches and Behaviour in the second and sixth Book. The Account of *Thammuz* is finely Romantick, and suitable to what we read among the Ancients of the Worship which was paid to that Idol.

{† ———Thammuz came next behind,
 Whose annual Wound in Lebanon allur'd
 The Syrian Damsels to lament his fate,
 In am'rous Ditties all a Summer's day,
 While smooth Adonis from his native Rock
 Ran purple to the Sea, suppos'd with Blood
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the Love-tale
 Infected Sion's Daughters with like Heat,
 Whose wanton Passions in the sacred Porch
 Ezekiel saw, when by the Vision led
 His Eye survey'd the dark Idolatries
 Of alienated Judah.———

The Reader will pardon me if I insert as a Note on this beautiful Passage, the Account given us by the late ingenious Mr. *Maundrell* of this Antient Piece of Worship, and probably the first Occasion of such a Superstition. 'We came to a fair large River
 'doubtless the Antient River *Adonis*, so famous for the
 'Idolatrous Rites perform'd here in Lamentation of
 ' *Adonis*. We had the Fortune to see what may be
 'suppos'd to be the Occasion of that Opinion which
 ' *Lucian* relates, concerning this River, viz. That this
 'Stream, at certain Seasons of the Year, especially about

† This passage was added in the author's life-time, but subsequent to the second edition. The earliest issue with it in that I have seen, is *Notes upon the Twelve Books of 'Paradise Lost.'* London 1719. p. 43.

'the Feast of *Adonis*, is of a bloody Colour; which the
'Heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of
'Sympathy in the River for the Death of *Adonis*, who
'was killed by a wild Boar in the Mountains, out of
'which this Stream rises. Something like this we saw
'actually come to pass; for the Water was stain'd to
'a surprising redness; and, as we observed in Travelling,
'had discolour'd the Sea a great way into a reddish
'Hue, occasion'd doubtless by a sort of Minium, or
'red Earth, wash'd into the River by the violence of
'the Rain, and not by any stain from *Adonis's* Blood.'}

The Passage in the Catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by Contraction, or Enlargement of their Dimensions, is introduced with great Judgement, to make way for several surprizing Accidents in the Sequel of the Poem. There follows one, at the very End of the First Book, which is what the *French* Critics call *Marvellous*, but at the same time *probable* by reason of the Passage last mentioned. As soon as the Internal Palace is finished, we are told the Multitude and Rabble of Spirits immediately shrunk themselves into a small Compass, that there might be Room for such a numberless Assembly in this capacious Hall. But it is the Poet's Refinement upon this Thought, which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in its self. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their Forms, those of the first Rank and Dignity still preserv'd their natural Dimensions.

*Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest Forms
Reduc'd their Shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without Number still amidst the Hall
Of that infernal Court. But far within,
And in their own Dimensions like themselves,
The Great Seraphick Lords and Cherubim,
In close recess and Secret conclave fate,
A thousand Demy Gods on Golden Seats,
Frequent and full——*

The Character of *Mammon*, and the Description of the *Pandæmonium*, are full of Beauties.

There are several other Strokes in the First Book wonderfully poetical, and Instances of that Sublime Genius so peculiar to the Author. Such is the Description of *Azazel's* Stature, and of the Infernal Standard, which he unfurls; and [as also] of that ghastly Light, by which the Fiends appear to one another in their Place of Torments.

*The Seat of Desolation, void of Light,
Save what the glimmering of those livid Flames
Casts pale and dreadful——*

The Shout of the whole Host of fallen Angels when drawn up in Battle Array :

*——The Universal Host up sent
A Shout that tore Hells Concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*

The Review, which the Leader makes of his Infernal Army :

*———He thro' the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
The whole Battalion views, their order due,
Their Vizages and Stature as of Gods,
Their number last he sums. And now his Heart
Distends with Pride, and hard'ning in his strength
Glories———*

The Flash of Light, which appeared upon the drawing of their Swords ;

*He spake; and to confirm his words outflew
Millions of flaming Swords, drawn from the Thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumin'd Hell———*

The sudden Production of the *Pandæmonium* ;

*Anon out of the Earth a Fabrick huge
Rose like an Exhalation, with the Sound
Of dulcet Symphonies and Voices sweet.*

The Artificial Illuminations made in it,

——— *From the arched Roof*
Pendent by subtle Magick, many a Row
Of Starry Lamps and blazing Crescents, fed
With Naptha and Asphaltus yielded Light
As from a Sky——

There are also several noble Similies and Allusions in the first Book of *Paradise Lost*. And here I must observe, that when *Milton* alludes either to Things or Persons, he never quits his Simile till it rises to some very great Idea, which is often foreign to the Occasion which [that] gave Birth to it. The Resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a Line or two, but the Poet runs on with the Hint, till he has raised out of it some glorious Image or Sentiment, proper to inflame the Mind of the Reader, and to give it that sublime kind of Entertainment, which is suitable to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. Those, who are acquainted with *Homer's* and *Virgil's* way of Writing, cannot but be pleased with this kind of Structure in *Milton's* Similitudes. I am the more particular on this Head, because ignorant Readers, who have formed their Taste upon the quaint Similies, and little Turns of Wit, which are so much in Vogue among Modern Poets, cannot relish these Beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure *Milton's* Comparisons, in which they do not see any surprizing Points of Likeness. Monsieur *Perrault* was a Man of this viciated Relish, and for that very Reason has endeavoured to turn into Ridicule several of *Homer's* Similitudes, which he calls *Comparaisons à longue queue, Long-tail'd Comparisons*. I shall conclude this Paper on the First Book of *Milton* with the Answer which Monsieur *Boileau* makes to *Perrault* on this Occasion; 'Comparisons, says he, in Odes and Epic Poems are not introduced only to illustrate and embellish the Discourse, but to amuse and relax the Mind of the Reader, by frequently disengaging him from too painful an Attention to the principal Subject, and

‘by leading him into other agreeable Images. *Homer*, says he, excelled in this Particular, whose Comparisons abound with such Images of Nature as are proper to relieve and diversifie his Subjects. He continually instructs the Reader, and makes him take notice, even in Objects which are every Day before our Eyes, of such Circumstances as we should not otherwise have observed. To this he adds, as a Maxim universally acknowledged, that it is not necessary in Poetry for the Points of the Comparison to correspond with one another exactly, but that a general Resemblance is sufficient, and that too much nicety in this Particular favours of the Rhetorician and Epigrammatist.’

In short, if we look into the Conduct of *Homer*, *Virgil* and *Milton*, as the great Fable is the Soul of each Poem, so to give their Works an agreeable Variety, their Episodes are so many short Fables, and their Similies so many short Episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their Metaphors are so many short Similies. If the Reader considers the Comparisons in the First Book of *Milton*, of the Sun in an Eclipse, of the Sleeping *Leviathan*, of the Bees swarming about their Hive, of the Fairy Dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great Beauties that are in each of those Passages.



The SPECTATOR.

*Dî, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque silentes,
Et Chaos, & Phlegethon, loca nocte jilentia late;
Sit mihi fas audita loqui: sit numine vextro
Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas.* Virg.

*{ Ye Realms, yet unreveal'd to human Sight,
Ye Gods who rule the Regions of the Night,
Ye gliding Ghosts, permit me to relate
The myſtic Wonders of your jilent State.* Dryden. }

Saturday, February 23. 1712.



Have before observed in general, that the Persons whom *Milton* introduces into his Poem always discover ſuch Sentiments and Behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their reſpective Characters.

Every Circumſtance in their Speeches and Actions, is with great juſtneſs and delicacy adapted to the Perſons who ſpeak and act. As the Poet very much excels in this Conſiſtency of his Characters, I ſhall beg leave to conſider ſeveral Paſſages of the Second Book in this Light. That ſuperior Greatneſs and Mock-Majeſty, which is aſcribed to the Prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preſerved in the beginning of this Book. His opening and cloſing the Debate; his taking on himſelf that great Enterprize at the Thought of which the whole Infernal Aſſembly trembled; his encountering the hideous Phantom who guarded the Gates of Hell, and appeared to him in all his Terrors, are Inſtances of that proud and daring Mind which could not brook Submiſſion even to Omnipotence.

*Satan was now at hand, and from his Seat
The Monſter moving onward came aſ faſt*

*With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode,
Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
Admir'd, not fear'd——*

The same Boldness and Intrepidity of Behaviour discovers it self in the several Adventures which he meets with during his Passage through the Regions of unform'd Matter, and particularly in his Address to those tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it.

The Part of *Moloch* is likewise in all its Circumstances full of that Fire and Fury, which distinguish this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels. He is described in the first Book as besmear'd with the Blood of Human Sacrifices, and delighted with the Tears of Parents, and the Cries of Children. In the second Book he is marked out as the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven; and if we consider the Figure which he makes in the Sixth Book, where the Battel of the Angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the same furious enraged Character.

*—— Where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce Ensigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloc, furious King, who him defy'd,
And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy one of Heav'n
Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon
Down cloven to the waste, with shatter'd arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing.——*

It may be worth while to observe, that *Milton* has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate Passions, as the *first* that rises in the Assembly, to give his Opinion upon their present Posture of Affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for War, and appears incensed at his Companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his Sentiments are Rash, Audacious and Desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their Tortures, and turning their Punishments upon him who inflicted them.

—No, let us rather chuse,
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heavens high tow'rs to force resifless way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer; when to meet the Noise
Of his almighty Engine he shall hear
Infernal Thund'cr, and for Lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels; and his throne it self
Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
His own invented Tournaments—

His preferring Annihilation to Shame or Misery, is also highly fuitable to his Character, as the Comfort he draws from their disturbing the Peace of Heaven, namely, that if it be not Victory it is Revenge, is a Sentiment truly Diabolical, and becoming the Bitterness of this implacable Spirit.

Belial is described, in the First Book, as the Idol of the Lewd and Luxurious. He is in the Second Book, pursuant to that Description, characterized as timorous and slothful; and if we look into the Sixth Book, we find him celebrated in the Battel of Angels for nothing but that Scoffing Speech which he makes to *Satan*, on their supposed Advantage over the Enemy. As his Appearance is uniform, and of a Piece, in these three several Views, we find his Sentiments in the Infernal Assembly every way conformable to his Character. Such are his Apprehensions of a second Battel, his Horrors of Annihilation, his preferring to be miserable rather than *not to be*. I need not observe, that the Contrast of Thought in this Speech, and that which precedes it, gives an agreeable Variety to the Debate.

Mammon's Character is so fully drawn in the First Book, that the Poet adds nothing to it in the Second. We were before told, that he was the first who taught Mankind to ransack the Earth for Gold and Silver, and that he was the Architect of *Pandæmonium*, or the Infernal Palace, where the Evil Spirits were to

meet in Council. His Speech in this Book is every way [where] fuitable to so depraved a Character. How proper is that Reflection, of their being unable to taste the Happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the Mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his Mind dazled with the outward Poms and Glories of the Place, and to have been more intent on the Riches of the Pavement, than on the Beatifick Vision. I shall also leave the Reader to judge how agreeable the following Sentiments are to the same Character.

————— *This deep world
Of Darknefs do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick cloud and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling Sire
Chuse to reside, his Glory unobscured,
And with the Majesty of darknefs round
Covers his Throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Must'ring their rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
As he our darknefs, cannot we his light
Imitate when we please? This desert Soil
Wants not her hidden lustre, Gems and Gold;
Nor want we Skill or Art, from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?*

Beëlzebub, who is reckon'd the second in Dignity that fell, and is in the First Book, the second that awakens out of the Trance, and confers with *Satan* upon the situation of their Affairs, maintains his Rank in the Book now before us. There is a wonderful Majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of Moderator between the two opposite Parties, and proposes a third Undertaking, which the whole Assembly gives into. The Motion he makes of detaching one of their Body in search of a new World is grounded upon a Project devised by *Satan*, and cursorily proposed by him in the following Lines of the first Book.

*Space may produce new Worlds, whereof so rise
There went a fame in Heav'n, that he e'er long*

*Intended to create, and therein plant
 A generation, whom his choice regard
 Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven :
 Thither. if but to pry, shall be perhaps
 Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere :
 For this infernal Pit shall never hold
 Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor th' Abyss
 Long under Darkness cover. But these thoughts
 Full Counsel must mature :———*

It is on this Project that *Béelzebub* grounds his Proposal.

——— *What if we find
 Some easier enterprize ? There is a place
 (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heav'n
 Err not) another World, the happy Seat
 Of some new Race call'd MAN, about this time
 To be created like to us, though less
 In power and excellence, but favoured more
 Of him who rules above ; so was his Will
 Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
 That shook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.*

The Reader may observe how just it was, not to omit in the First Book the Project upon which the whole Poem turns : As also that the Prince of the fall'n Angels was the only proper Person to give it Birth, and that the next to him in Dignity was the fittest to second and support it.

There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the Reader's Imagination, in this ancient Prophecy or Report in Heaven, concerning the Creation of Man. Nothing could shew more the Dignity of the Species, than this Tradition which ran of them before their Existence. They are represented to have been the Talk of Heaven, before they were created. *Virgil*, in compliment to the *Roman* Common-Wealth, makes the Heroes of it appear in their State of Pre-existence ; But *Milton* does a far greater Honour to Mankind in general, as he gives us a Glimpse of them even before they are in Being.

The rising of this great Assembly is described in a very Sublime and Poetical manner.

*Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of Thunder heard remote——*

The Diversions of the fallen Angels, with the particular Account of their Place of Habitation, are described with great Pregnancy of Thought, and Copiousness of Invention. The Diversions are every way suitable to Beings who had nothing left them but Strength and Knowledge misapplied. Such are their Contentions at the Race, and in Feats of Arms, with their Entertainment in the following Lines.

*Others with vast Typhæan Rage more fell
Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
In Whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.*

Their Musick is employed in celebrating their own criminal Exploits, and their Discourse in founding the unfathomable Depths of Fate, Free-will, and Foreknowledge.

The several Circumstances in the Description of Hell are very finely imagined; as the four Rivers which disgorge themselves into the Sea of Fire, the Extreame of Cold and Heat, and the River of Oblivion. The monstrous Animals produced in that infernal World are represented by a single Line, which gives us a more horrid Idea of them, than a much longer Description would have done.

——— *Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimera's dire.*

This Episode of the fallen Spirits, and their Place of Habitation, comes in very happily to unbend the Mind of the Reader from its Attention to the Debate. An ordinary Poet would indeed have spun out so many

Circumstances to a great Length, and by that means have weakned, instead of illustrated, the principal Fable.

The Flight of Satan to the Gates of Hell is finely imaged.

I have already declared my Opinion of the Allegory concerning *Sin* and *Death*, which is however a very finished Piece in its kind, when it is not considered as a Part of an Epic Poem. The Genealogy of the several Persons is contrived with great Delicacy. *Sin* is the Daughter of *Satan*, and *Death* the Offspring of *Sin*. The incestuous Mixture between *Sin* and *Death* produces those Monsters and Hell-hounds which from time to time enter into their Mother, and tear the Bowels of her who gave them Birth. These are the Terrors of an evil Conscience, and the proper Fruits of *Sin*, which naturally rise from the Apprehensions of *Death*. This last beautiful Moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the Speech of *Sin*, where complaining of this her dreadful Issue, she adds,

Before mine eyes in opposition sits,
Grim Death thy Son and foe, who sets them on.
And me his Parent would full soon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involv'd——

I need not mention to the Reader the beautiful Circumstance in the last Part of this Quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three Persons concerned in this Allegory are tempted by one common Interest to enter into a Confederacy together, and how properly *Sin* is made the Portress of Hell, and the only Being that can open the Gates to that World of Tortures.

The descriptive Part of this Allegory is likewise very strong, and full of Sublime Ideas. The Figure of Death, [the Regal Crown upon his Head,] his Menace to Satan, his advancing to the Combat, the Outcry at his Birth, are Circumstances too noble to be past over in Silence, and extremely suitable to this *King of Terrors*. I need not mention the Justness of Thought which is observed in the Generation of these

several Symbolical Persons; that *Sin* was produced upon the first Revolt of *Satan*, that *Death* appeared soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the Terrors of Conscience were conceived at the Gate of this Place of Torments. The Description of the Gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of *Milton's* Spirit.

— On a sudden open fly
 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
 Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 Harsh Thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Of Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
 Excell'd her Power; the Gates wide open flood,
 That with extended wings a banner'd Host
 Under spread Ensigns marching might pass through
 With Horse and Chariots rank'd in loose array;
 So wide they flood, and like a furnace mouth
 Cast forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame.

In *Satan's* Voyage through the *Chaos* there are several Imaginary Persons described, as residing in that immense Waste of Matter. This may perhaps be conformable to the Taste of those Criticks who are pleased with nothing in a Poet which has not Life and Manners ascribed to it; but for my own part, I am pleased most with those Passages in this Description which carry in them a greater Measure of Probability, and are such as might possibly have happened. Of this kind is his first mounting in the Smoak that rises from the infernal Pit: his falling into a Cloud of Nitre, and the like combustible Materials, that by their Explosion still hurried him forward in his Voyage; his springing upward like a Pyramid of Fire, with his laborious Passage through that Confusion of Elements, which the Poet calls

The Womb of Nature and perhaps her Grave.

The Glimmering Light which shot into the *Chaos* from the utmost Verge of the Creation, with the distant Discovery of the Earth that hung close by the Moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical.

The SPECTATOR.

*Nec deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit*——

Hor.

{ *Never presume to make a God appear,
But for a Business worthy of a God. Roscommon.* }

Saturday, March 1, 1712.



HORACE advises a Poet to consider thoroughly the Nature and Force of his Genius. *Milton* seems to have known, perfectly well, wherein his Strength lay, and has therefore chosen a Subject entirely conformable to those Talents, of which he was Master. As his Genius was wonderfully turned to the Sublime, his Subject is the noblest that could have entered into the Thoughts of Man. Every thing that is truly great and astonishing, has a place in it. The whole System of the intellectual World ; the *Chaos*, and the Creation ; Heaven, Earth and Hell ; enter into the Constitution of his Poem.

Having in the First and Second Book represented the Infernal World with all its Horrors, the Thread of his Fable naturally leads him into the opposite Regions of Bliss and Glory.

If *Milton's* Majesty forsakes him any where, it is in those Parts of his Poem, where the Divine Persons are introduced as Speakers. One may, I think, observe that the Author proceeds with a kind of Fear and Trembling, whilst he describes the Sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his Imagination its full Play, but chuses to confine himself to such Thoughts as are drawn from the Books of the most Orthodox Divines, and to such Expressions as may be met with

in Scripture. The Beauties, therefore, which we are to look for in these Speeches, are not of a Poetical nature, or so proper to fill the mind with Sentiments of Grandeur, as with Thoughts of Devotion. The Passions, which they are designed to raise, are a Divine Love and Religious Fear. The particular Beauty of the Speeches in the Third Book, consists in that Shortness and Perspicuity of Style, in which the Poet has couched the greatest Mysteries of Christianity, and drawn together, in a regular Scheme, the whole Dispensation of Providence, with respect to Man. He has represented all the abstruse Doctrines of Predestination, Free-will and Grace, as also the great Points of Incarnation and Redemption, (which naturally grow up in a Poem that treats of the Fall of Man,) with great Energy of Expression, and in a clearer and stronger Light than I ever met with in any other Writer. As these Points are dry in themselves to the generality of Readers, the concise and clear manner in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular Art which he has made use of in the interpersing of all those Graces of Poetry, which the Subject was capable of receiving.

The Survey of the whole Creation, and of every thing that is transacted in it, is a Prospect worthy of Omniscience; and as much above that, in which *Virgil* has drawn his *Jupiter*, as the Christian Idea of the Supreme Being is more rational and Sublime than that of the Heathens. The particular Objects on which he is described to have cast his Eye, are represented in the most beautiful and lively manner.

*Now had th' Almighty Father from above,
From the pure Empyrean where he sits
High thron'd above all height, bent down his Eye,
His own Works and their Works at once to view.
About him all the Sanctities of Heav'n
Stood thick as Stars, and from his Sight receiv'd*

*Beatitude past utterance: On his right
The radiant image of his Glory sat,
His only Son; On earth he first beheld
Our two first Parents, yet the only two
Of Mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
Reaping immortal fruits of Joy and Love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrival'd love,
In blisful Solitude: he then survey'd
Hell and the Gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the Wall of Heav'n on this side night
In the dun air sublime, and ready now
To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet
On the bare outside of this world, that seem'd
Firm land imbojom'd without firmament,
Uncertain which, in Ocean or in Air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.*

Satan's Approach to the Confines of the Creation, is finely imaged in the beginning of the Speech, which immediately follows. The Effects of this Speech in the blessed Spirits, and in the Divine Person, to whom it was addressed, cannot but fill the Mind of the Reader with a secret Pleasure and Complacency.

*Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new Joy ineffable diffus'd:
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, in him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd; and in his face
Divine Compassion visibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without measure Grace.*

I need not point out the Beauty of that Circumstance, wherein the whole Host of Angels are represented as standing Mute; nor shew how proper the Occasion was to produce such a Silence in Heaven. The Close of this Divine Colloquy, with the Hymn of Angels

that follows upon it, are so wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I should not forbear inserting the whole Passage, if the bounds of my Paper would give me leave.

*No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
The multitude of Angels with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest Voices, uttering Joy, Heav'n rung
With Jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
Th' eternal regions; &c. &c.——*

Satan's Walk upon the Outside of the Universe, which, at a Distance, appeared to him of a globular Form. but, upon his nearer Approach, looked like an unbounded Plain, is natural and noble: As his roaming upon the Frontiers of the Creation, between that Mass of Matter, which was wrought into a World, and that shapeless uniform'd Heap of Materials, which still lay in *Chaos* and Confusion, strikes the Imagination with something astonishingly great and wild. I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the Poet places upon this outermost Surface of the Universe, and shall here explain my self more at large on that, and other Parts of the Poem, which are of the same Shadowy nature.

Aristotle observes, that the Fable of an Epic Poem should abound in Circumstances that are both credible and astonishing: or as the *French* Critics chuse to phrase it, the Fable should be filled with the Probable and the Marvellous. This Rule is as fine and just as any in *Aristotle's* whole Art of Poetry.

If the Fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true History; if it is only Marvellous, it is no better than a Romance. The great Secret therefore of Heroic Poetry is to relate such Circumstances, as may produce in the Reader at the same time both Belief and Astonishment. This often happens [is brought to pass] in a *well chosen* Fable, by the Account of such things as have really happened, or at least of such things as have

happen'd, according to the received Opinions of Mankind. *Milton's* Fable is a Master-piece of this Nature; as the War in Heaven, the Condition of the fallen Angels, the State of Innocence, the Temptation of the Serpent, and the Fall of Man, though they are very astonishing in themselves, are not only credible, but actual Points of Faith.

The next Method of reconciling Miracles with Credibility, is by a happy Invention of the Poet: as in particular, when he introduces Agents of a superior Nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. *Ulysses's* Ship being turned into a Rock, and *Aeneas's* Fleet into a Shoal of Water Nymphs, though they are very surprizing Accidents, are nevertheless probable, when we are told that they were the Gods who thus transformed them. It is this kind of Machinery which fills the Poems both of *Homer* and *Virgil* with such Circumstances as are wonderful, but not impossible, and so frequently produce in the Reader the most pleasing Passion that can rise in the Mind of Man, which is Admiration. If there be any Instance in the *Aeneid* liable to Exception upon this Account, it is in the beginning of the third Book, where *Aeneas* is represented as tearing up the Myrtle that dropped Blood. To qualifie this wonderful Circumstance, *Polydorus* tells a Story from the Root of the Myrtle, that the barbarous inhabitants of the Country having pierced him with Spears and Arrows, the Wood which was left in his Body took Root in his Wounds, and gave birth to that bleeding Tree. This Circumstance seems to have the Marvellous without the Probable, because it is represented as proceeding from Natural Causes, without the Interposition of any God, or rather Supernatural Power capable of producing it. The Spears and Arrows grow of themselves, without so much as the Modern help of an Enchantment. If we look into the Fiction of *Milton's* Fable, though we find it full of surprizing Incidents,

they are generally suited to our Notions of the Things and Persons described, and temper'd with a due measure of Probability. I must only make an Exception to the Lymbo of Vanity, with his Episode of Sin and Death, and some of the imaginary Persons in his *Chaos*. These Passages are astonishing, but not credible; the Reader cannot so far impose upon himself as to see a Possibility in them; they are the Description of Dreams and Shadows, not of Things or Persons. I know that many Critics look upon the Stories of *Circe*, *Polypheme*, the *Sirens*, nay the whole *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to be Allegories; but allowing this to be true, they are Fables, which considering the Opinions of Mankind that prevailed in the Age of the Poet, might possibly have been according to the Letter. The Persons are such as might have acted what is ascribed to them, as the Circumstances in which they are represented, might possibly have been Truths and Realities. This appearance of Probability is so absolutely requisite in the greater kinds of Poetry, that *Aristotle* observes the Ancient Tragick Writers made use of the Names of such great Men as had actually lived in the World, tho' the Tragedy proceeded upon such Adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the Subject more Credible. In a Word, besides the hidden Meaning of an Epic Allegory, the plain literal Sense ought to appear probable. The Story should be such as an ordinary Reader may acquiesce in, whatever Natural Moral or Political Truth may be discovered in it by Men of greater Penetration.

Satan, after having long wandered upon the Surface, or outmost Wall of the Universe, discovers at last a wide Gap in it, which led into the Creation, and which* is described as the Opening through which the Angels pass to and fro into the lower World, upon their Errands to Mankind. His Sitting upon the brink of this Passage, and taking a Survey of the whole Face of Nature that appeared to him new and fresh in all its

Beauties, with the Simile illustrating this Circumstance, fills the Mind of the Reader with as surprizing and glorious an Idea as any that arises in the whole Poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the Universe with the Eye, or (as *Milton* calls it in his first Book) with the Kenn of an Angel. He surveys all the Wonders in this immense Amphitheatre that lie between both the Poles of Heaven, and takes in at one View the whole Round of the Creation.

His Flight between the several Worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular Description of the Sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant Imagination. His Shape, Speech and Behaviour upon his transforming himself into an Angel of Light, are touched with exquisite Beauty. The Poet's Thought of directing *Satan* to the Sun, which in the Vulgar Opinion of Mankind is the most conspicuous Part of the Creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a Circumstance very finely contriv'd, and the more adjusted to a Poetical Probability, as it was a receiv'd Doctrine among the most famous Philosophers, that every Orb had its *Intelligence*; and as an Apostle in Sacred Writ is said to have seen such an Angel in the Sun. In the Answer which this Angel returns to the disguised Evil Spirit, there is such a becoming Majesty as is altogether suitable to a Superior Being. The part of it in which he represents himself as present at the Creation, is very noble in it self, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the Reader for what follows in the Seventh Book.

*I saw when at his word the formless Mass,
This worlds material mould, came to a heap :
Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood rul'd, flood vast infinitude confin'd ;
Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
Light shon, &c.*

In the following part of the Speech he points out the Earth with such Circumstances, that the Reader

can scarce forbear fancying himself employ'd on the same distant view of it.

*Look downward on that Globe, whose hither side
With light from hence, tho' but reflected, shines;
That place is Earth, the Seat of man, that light
His day, &c.*

I must not conclude my Reflections upon this Third Book of *Paradise Lost*, without taking notice of that celebrated Complaint of *Milton* with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the Praises that have been given it; tho' as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as an Excrescence, than as an essential Part of the Poem. The same Observation might be applied to that beautiful Digression upon Hypocriſie, in the same Book.



The SPECTATOR.

Nec satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunto. Hor.

{ 'Tis not enough a Poem's finely writ;
It must affect and captivate the Soul. }

Saturday, March 8. 1712.



THOSE, who know how many Volumes have been written on the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, will easily pardon the Length of my Discourse upon *Milton*. The *Paradise Lost* is look'd upon, by the best Judges, as the greatest Production, or at least the noblest Work of Genius, in our Language, and therefore deserves to be set before an *English* Reader in its full Beauty. For this Reason, tho' I have endeavour'd to give a general Idea of its Graces and Imperfections in my Six First Papers, I thought my self oblig'd to bestow one upon every Book in particular. The Three First Books I have already dispatched, and am now entring upon the Fourth. I need not acquaint my Reader, that there are Multitudes of Beauties in this great Author, especially in the Descriptive Parts of his Poem, which I have not touch'd upon, it being my Intention to point out those only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary Readers. Every one that has read the Criticks, who have written upon the *Odyssy*, the *Iliad* and the *Æneid*, knows very well, that though they agree in their Opinions of the great Beauties in those Poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several Master-Stroaks, which have escap'd the Observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not, but any Writer, who shall treat of this Subject after me, may find several Beauties in *Milton*,

which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe, that as the greatest Masters of Critical Learning differ from one another, as to some particular Points in an Epic Poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to the Rules, which any one of them has laid down upon that Art, but have taken the Liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the Reason of the thing was on my side.

We may consider the Beauties of the Fourth Book under three Heads. In the First are those Pictures of Still-Life, which we meet with in the Descriptions of *Eden*, *Paradise*, *Adam's Bower*, &c. In the next are the Machines, which comprehend the Speeches and Behaviour of the good and bad Angels. In the last is the Conduct of *Adam* and *Eve*, who are the principal Actors in the Poem.

In the Description of *Paradise*, the Poet has observed *Aristotle's* Rule of lavishing all the Ornaments of Diction on the weak unactive Parts of the Fable, which are not supported by the Beauty of Sentiments and Characters. Accordingly the Reader may observe, that the Expressions are more florid and elaborate in these Descriptions, than in most other Parts of the Poem. I must further add, that tho' the Drawings of Gardens, Rivers, Rainbows, and the like dead Pieces of Nature, are justly censured in an Heroic Poem, when they run out into an unnecessary length; the Description of *Paradise* would have been faulty, had not the Poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the Scene of the principal Action, but as it is requisite to give us an Idea of that Happiness from which our first Parents fell. The Plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the short Sketch which we have of it, in Holy Writ. *Milton's* Exuberance of Imagination, has pour'd forth such a redundancy of Ornaments on this Seat of Happiness and Innocence, that it would be endless to point out each Particular.

I must not quit this Head, without further observing,

that there is scarce a Speech of *Adam* or *Eve* in the whole Poem, wherein the Sentiments and Allusions are not taken from this their delightful Habitation. The Reader, during their whole Course of Action, always finds himself in the Walks of *Paradiſe*. In ſhort, as the Criticks have remarked, that in thoſe Poems, wherein Shepherds are Actors, the Thoughts ought always to take a Tincture from the Woods, Fields, and Rivers; ſo we may obſerve, that our firſt Parents ſeldom loſe Sight of their happy Station in any thing they ſpeak or do; and, if the Reader will give me leave to uſe the Expreſſion, that their Thoughts are always *Paradiſiacal*.

We are in the next place to conſider the Machines of the Fourth Book. *Satan* being now within Proſpect of *Eden*, and looking round upon the Glories of the Creation, is filled with Sentiments different from thoſe which he diſcovered whiſt he was in Hell. The Place inſpires him with Thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy Condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a Speech that is ſoftned with ſeveral tranſient Touches of Remorſe and Self-accuſation: But at length he confirms himſelf in Impenitence, and in his deſign of drawing Man into his own State of Guilt and Miſery. This Conflict of Paſſions is raiſed with a great deal of Art, as the opening of his Speech to the Sun is very bold and noble.

*O thou that with ſurpaſſing Glory crown'd
Look'ſt from thy Sole Dominion like the God
Of this new World, at whoſe Sight all the Stars
Hide their diminifh'd heads, to thee I call
But with no Friendly Voice, and add thy name,
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what State
I fell, how glorious once above thy Sphere.*

This Speech is, I think, the fineſt that is aſcribed to *Satan* in the whole Poem. The Evil Spirit afterwards proceeds to make his Discoveries concerning

our first Parents, and to learn after what manner they may be best attacked. His bounding over the Walls of *Paradise*; his sitting in the Shape of a Cormorant upon the Tree of Life, which stood in the Center of it, and over-topp'd all the other Trees of the Garden; his alighting among the Herd of Animals, which are so beautifully represented as playing about *Adam* and *Eve*, together with his transforming himself into different Shapes, in order to hear their Conversation; are Circumstances that give an agreeable Surprize to the Reader, and are devised with great Art, to connect that Series of Adventures in which the Poet has engaged this great Artificer of Fraud.

[The Thought of *Satan*'s Transformation into a Cormorant, and placing himself on the Tree of Life, seems raised upon that Passage in the *Iliad*, where two Deities are described, as perching on the Top of an Oak in the Shape of Vulturs.]

His planting himself at the Ear of *Eve* in the shape [under the Form] of a Toad, in order to produce vain Dreams and Imaginations, is a Circumstance of the same Nature; as his starting up in his own Form is wonderfully fine, both in the Literal Description, and in the Moral which is concealed under it. His Answer upon his being discovered, and demanded to give an Account of himself, are [is] conformable to the Pride and Intrepidity of his Character.

*Know ye not then, said Satan, fill'd with Scorn,
Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
For you, sitting where you durst not soare;
Not to know me argues your-selves unknown,
The lowest of your throng;—*

Zephon's Rebuke, with the Influence it had on *Satan*, is exquisitely Graceful and Moral. *Satan* is afterwards led away to *Gabriel*, the chief of the Guardian Angels, who kept watch in *Paradise*. His disdainful Behaviour on this occasion is so remarkable a Beauty, that the most ordinary Reader cannot but take notice of it.

Gabriel's discovering his approach at a distance, is drawn with great strength and liveliness of Imagination.

*O Friends, I hear the tread of nimble Feet
Hastening this way, and now by glimps discern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade;
And with them comes a third of Regal Port,
But faded splendor wan; who by his gait
And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without contest;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.*

The Conference between *Gabriel* and *Satan* abounds with Sentiments proper for the Occasion, and suitable to the Persons of the two Speakers. *Satan's* cloathing himself with Terror when he prepares for the Combat is truly sublime, and at least equal to *Homer's* Description of Discord celebrated by *Longinus*, or to that of Fame in *Virgil*, who are both represented with their Feet standing upon the Earth, and their Heads reaching above the Clouds.

*While thus he spake, th' Angelic Squadron bright
Turn'd fiery red, sharpening in mooned Horns
Their Phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported Spears, &c.*

— *On th' other Side, Satan alarm'd,
Collecting all his might dilated stood
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd.
His Stature reach'd the Sky, and on his Crest
Sat horror plum'd;—*

I must here take notice, that *Milton* is every where full of Hints, and sometimes literal Translations, taken from the greatest of the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets. But this I shall [may] reserve for a Discourse by it self, because I would not break the Thread of these Speculations that are designed for *English* Readers, with such Reflections as would be of no use but to the Learned.

I must however observe in this Place, that the breaking off the Combat between *Gabriel* and *Satan*, by the

hanging out of the Golden Scales in Heaven, is a Refinement upon *Homer's* Thought, who tells us, that before the Battel between *Hector* and *Achilles*, *Jupiter* weighed the Event of it in a pair of Scales. The Reader may see the whole Passage in the 22d *Iliad*.

Virgil, before the last decisive Combat, describes *Jupiter* in the same manner, as weighing the Fates of *Turnus* and *Æneas*. *Milton*, though he fetched this beautiful Circumstance from the *Iliad* and *Æneid*, does not only insert it as a Poetical Embellishment, like the Authors above-mentioned; but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his Fable, and for the breaking off the Combat between the two Warriors, who were upon the point of engaging. [To this we may further add, that *Milton* is the more justified in this Passage, as we find the same noble Allegory in Holy Writ, where a wicked Prince, {some few Hours before he was assaulted and slain,} is said to have been *weigh'd in the Scales and to have been found wanting*.]

I must here take Notice under the Head of the Machines, that *Uriel's* gliding down to the Earth upon a Sun-beam, with the Poet's Device to make him *descend*, as well in his return to the Sun, as in his coming from it, is a Prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful Poet, but seems below the Genius of *Milton*. The Description of the Host of armed Angels walking their nightly Round in *Paradise*, is of another Spirit.

*So saying, on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the Moon;—*

As that Account of the Hymns which our first Parents used to hear them Sing in these their Midnight Walks, is altogether Divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the Imagination.

We are, in the last place, to consider the Parts which *Adam* and *Eve* act in the Fourth Book. The Description of them as they first appear'd to *Satan*, is

exquisitely drawn, and sufficient to make the fallen Angel gaze upon them with all that Astonishment, and those Emotions of Envy, in which he is represented.

*Two of far nobler Shape erect and tall
God-like erect, with native honour clad
In naked majesty seem'd lords of all,
And worthy seem'd, for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shon,
Truth, Wisdom, Sanctitude severe and pure;
Severe, but in true filial freedom plac'd:
For contemplation he and valour form'd,
For softness she and sweet attractive Grace;
He for God only, she for God in him:
His fair large front, and eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rule, and Hyacinthin Locks
Round from his parted forelock many hung
Clustering, but not beneath his Shoulders broad:
She as a Vail down to her slender waste
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dis-sweel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd.
So pass'd they naked on, nor shun'd the Sight
Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:
So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair
That ever since in loves embraces met.*

There is a fine Spirit of Poetry in the Lines which follow, wherein they are describ'd as sitting on a Bed of Flowers by the side of a Fountain, amidst a mixed Assembly of Animals.

The Speeches of these two first Lovers flow equally from Passion and Sincerity. The Professions they make to one another are full of Warmth; but at the same time founded on Truth. In a Word, they are the Gallantries of *Paradise*.

——— *When Adam first of Men* ———
*Sole Partner and sole part of all these joys,
Dearer thy self than all;—*
*But let us ever praise him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful task,*

*To prune those growing plants, and tend these flowers,
Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.
To whom thus Eve repli'd: O thou for whom
And from whom I was form'd, flesh of thy flesh,
And without whom am to no end, my Guide
And head, what thou hast said is just and right.
For we to him indeed all praises owe,
And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy
So far the happier Lot, enjoying thee
Preeminent by so much odds, while thou
Like consort to thy self canst no where find, &c.*

The remaining part of *Eve's* Speech, in which she gives an Account of her self upon her first Creation, and the manner in which she was brought to *Adam*, is I think as beautiful a Passage as any in *Milton*, or perhaps in any other Poet whatsoever. These Passages are all work'd off with so much Art, that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate Reader, without offending the most severe.

That day I oft remember, when from Sleep, &c.

A Poet of less Judgment and Invention than this great Author, would have found it very difficult to have filled those [these] tender parts of the Poem with Sentiments proper for a State of Innocence; to have described the warmth of Love, and the Professions of it, without Artifice or Hyperbole; to have made the Man speak the most endearing things, without descending from his natural Dignity, and the Woman receiving them without departing from the Modesty of her Character; in a word, to adjust the Prerogatives of Wisdom and Beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper Force and Loveliness. This mutual Subordination of the two Sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole Poem, as particularly in the Speech of *Eve* I have before-mentioned, and upon the Conclusion of it in the following Lines:—

*So spake our general Mother, and with eyes
Of Conjugal attraction unprov'd,*

*And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
On our first father, half her swelling breast
Naked met his under the flowing Gold
Of her loose tresses hid; he in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms
Smil'd with Superiour Love,——*

The Poet adds, that the Devil turn'd away with Envy at the sight of so much Happiness.

We have another View of our First Parents in their Evening Discourses, which is full of pleasing Images and Sentiments suitable to their Condition and Characters. The Speech of *Eve*, in particular, is dress'd up in such a soft and natural Turn of Words and Sentiments, as cannot be sufficiently admired.

I shall close my Reflections upon this Book, with observing the Masterly Transition which the Poet makes to their Evening Worship, in the following Lines:—

*Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both flood,
Both turn'd, and under open Sky ador'd
The God that made both Sky, Air, Earth and Heav'n,
Which they beheld, the Moons resplendent Globe,
And Starry Pole: Thou also mad'st the night,
Maker omnipotent and thou the Day, &c.*

Most of the Modern Heroic Poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a Speech without premising, that the Person said thus or thus; but as it is easie to imitate the Ancients in the Omission of two or three Words, it requires Judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be miss'd, and that the Speech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine Instance of this Kind out of *Homer*, in the Twenty-Third Chapter of *Longinus*.



The SPECTATOR.

——— *major rerum mihi nascitur ordo.* Virg.
 { *A larger Scene of Action is display'd.* Dryden. }

Saturday, March 15, 1712.



E were told in the foregoing Book how the Evil Spirit practis'd upon *Eve* as she lay asleep, in order to inspire her with Thoughts of Vanity, Pride and Ambition. The Author, who shews a wonderful Art throughout his whole Poem, in preparing the Reader for the several Occurrences that arise in it, founds upon the above-mentioned Circumstance the first part of the Fifth Book. *Adam* upon his awaking, finds *Eve* still asleep, with an unusual Discomposure in her Looks. The Posture in which he regards her, is described with a wonderful Tenderness [not to be express'd*]†, as the Whisper with which he awakens her, is the softest that ever was conveyed to a Lover's Ears

*His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
 With Tresses discompos'd and glowing cheek
 As through unquiet rest: he on his side
 Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
 Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,
 Shot forth peculiar Graces; then with voice
 Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
 Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
 Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
 Awake, the morning shines, and the fresh field*

† See *Errata*, at the end of No. 369, in the original issue.

*Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the Citron Grove,
What drops the Myrrhe, and what the balmie Reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the Bee
Sits on the bloom, extracting liquid sweet.
Such whispring wak'd her, but with startled Eye,
On Adam, whom embracing thus she spake.*

*O Sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My Glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd—*

I cannot but take notice that *Milton*, in his Conferences between *Adam* and *Eve*, had his Eye very frequently upon the Book of *Canticles*, in which there is a noble Spirit of Eastern Poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in *Homer*, who is generally placed near the Age of *Solomon*. I think there is no question but the Poet in the preceding Speech remembred those two Passages which are spoken on the like occasion, and fill'd with the same pleasing Images of Nature.

*My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love,
my fair one, and come away; For lo, the winter is past,
the rain is over and gone; the Flowers appear on the
earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the
Voice of the Turtle is heard in our Land. The Fig-tree
putteth forth her green figs, and the Vines with the tender
grape give a good smell. Arise, my love, my fair one,
and come away.*

*Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the Field;
let us get up early to the Vineyards, let us see if the
Vine flourish, whether the tender Grape appear, and
the Pomegranates bud forth.*

His preferring the Garden of *Eden* to that

*—Where the Sapient King
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian Spouse,*

shews that the Poet had this delightful Scene in his Mind.

Eve's Dream is full of those *high Conceits engendring Pride*, which we are told the Devil endeavoured to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies her self awaken'd by *Adam* in the following beautiful Lines.

*Why sleep'st thou, Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his Love-labour'd song; now reigns
Full or'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy jets off the face of things; in vain
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Natures desire,
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.*

An injudicious Poet would have made *Adam* talk through the whole Work, in such Sentiments as this [these]. But Flattery and Falshood are not the Courtship of *Milton's Adam*, and cou'd not be heard by *Eve* in her State of Innocence, excepting only in a Dream produced on purpose to taint her Imagination. Other vain Sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her Dream, will be obvious to every Reader. Tho' the Catastrophe of the Poem is finely presaged on this occasion, the Particulars of it are so artfully shadow'd, that they do not anticipate the Story which follows in the Ninth Book. I shall only add, that tho' the Vision it self is founded upon Truth, the Circumstances of it are full of that Wildness and Inconsistency which are natural to a Dream. *Adam*, conformable to his superior Character for Wisdom, instructs and comforts *Eve* upon this occasion.

*So cheer'd he his fair Spouse, and she was cheer'd,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wiped them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready flood,
Each in their chrysal fluice, he'er they fell*

*Kiss'd as the gracious Signs of sweet remorse
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.*

The Morning Hymn is written in Imitation of one of those Psalms, where, in the Overflowings of his Gratitude and Praise, the Psalmist calls not only upon the Angels, but upon the most conspicuous parts of the inanimate Creation, to join with him in extolling their Common Maker. Invocations of this Nature fill the Mind with glorious Ideas of God's Works, and awaken that Divine Enthusiasm, which is so natural to Devotion. But if this calling upon the dead parts of Nature, is at all times a proper kind of Worship, it was in a particular manner suitable to our first Parents, who had the Creation fresh upon their Minds, and had not seen the various Dispensations of Providence, nor consequently could be acquainted with those many Topicks of Praise which might afford matter to the Devotions of their Posterity. I need not remark that* [the] beautiful Spirit of Poetry which runs through this whole Hymn, nor the Holiness of that Resolution with which it concludes.

Having already mentioned those Speeches which are assigned to the Persons in this Poem, I proceed to the Description which the Poet gives us* of *Raphael*. His Departure from before the Throne, and his Flight thro' the Quires [Choirs] of Angels, is finely imaged. As *Milton* every where fills his Poem with Circumstances that are marvellous and astonishing, he describes the Gate of Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it open'd of it self upon the approach of the Angel who was to pass through it.

——'till at the gate
*Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide,
On golden Hinges turning, as by work
Divine the Sovereign Architect had fram'd.*

The Poet here seems to have regarded two or three Passages in the eighteenth *Iliad*, as that in particu-

lar where, speaking of *Vulcan*, *Homer* says, that he had made Twenty *Tripodes*, running on Golden Wheels, which, upon Occasion, might go of themselves to the Assembly of the Gods, and, when there was no more use for them, return again after the same manner. *Scaliger* has rallied *Homer* very severely upon this Point, as *Monf. Dacier* has endeavoured to defend it. I will not pretend to determine, whether in this Particular of *Homer*, the Marvellous does not lose sight of the Probable. As the miraculous Workmanship of *Milton's* Gates is not so extraordinary as this of the *Tripodes*, so I am persuaded he would not have mentioned it, had not he been supported in it by a Passage in the Scripture, which speaks of Wheels in Heaven that had Life in them, and moved of themselves, or stood still, in Conformity with the Cherubims, whom they accompanied.

There is no question but *Milton* had this Circumstance in his Thoughts, because in the following Book he describes the Chariot of the *Messiah* with living Wheels, according to the Plan in *Ezekiel's* Vision.

————— *Forth rust'd with whirlwind sound*
The Chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
It self instinct with Spirit—————

I question not but *Bossu*, and the two *Daciers*, who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in *Homer*, by something Parallel in Holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting *Vulcan's Tripodes* with *Ezekiel's* Wheels.

Raphael's Descent to the Earth, with the Figure of his Person, is represented in very lively Colours. Several of the *French, Italian, and English* Poets have given a loose to their Imaginations in the Description of Angels: But I do not remember to have met with any, so finely drawn and so conformable to the Notions which are given of them in Scripture, as this in *Milton*. After having set him forth in all his Heavenly Plumage,

and represented him as alighting upon the Earth, the Poet concludes his Description with a Circumstance, which is altogether new, and imagined with the greatest Strength of Fancy.

—*Like Maia's Son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The Circuit wide*——

Raphael's Reception by the Guardian Angels; his passing through the Wilderness of Sweets; his distant Appearance to *Adam*, have all the Graces that Poetry is capable of bestowing. The Author afterwards gives us a particular Description of *Eve* in her Domestick Employments.

*So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent,
What choice to chuse for delicacy best,
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes, not well joyn'd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after Taste, upheld with kindliest change;
Befits her then &c.*——

Though in this, and other Parts of the same Book, the Subject is only the Housewifery of our First Parent, it is set off with so many pleasing Images and strong Expressions, as make it none of the least agreeable Parts in this Divine Work.

The natural Majesty of *Adam*, and at the same time his submissive Behaviour to the Superiour Being, who had vouchsafed to be his Guest; the solemn Hail which the Angel bestows on the Mother of Mankind, with the Figure of *Eve* ministring at the Table, are Circumstances which deserve to be admir'd.

Raphael's Behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his Nature, and to that Character of a sociable Spirit, with which the Author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received Instructions to converse with *Adam*, as one Friend converses with another, and to warn him of the Enemy, who was contriving his Destruction: Accordingly he is repre-

sented as sitting down at Table with *Adam*, and eating of the Fruits of *Paradise*. The Occasion naturally leads him to his Discourse on the Food of Angels. After having thus entered into Conversation with Man upon more indifferent Subjects, he warns him of his Obedience, and makes a natural Transition to the History of that fallen Angel, who was employed in the Circumvention of our First Parents.

Had I followed Monsieur *Bossu's* Method in my First Paper on *Milton*, I should have dated the Action of *Paradise Lost* from the Beginning of *Raphael's* Speech in this Book. as he supposes the Action of the *Aeneid* to begin in the second Book of that Poem. I could alledge many Reasons for my drawing the Action of the *Aeneid*, rather from its immediate Beginning in the first Book, than from its remote Beginning in the Second, and shew why I have considered the Sacking of *Troy* as an *Episode*, according to the common Acceptation of that Word. But as this would be a dry un-entertaining Piece of Criticism, and perhaps unnecessary to those who have read my First Paper, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which-ever of the Notions be true, the Unity of *Milton's* Action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the Fall of Man in its immediate Beginning, as proceeding from the Resolutions taken in the Infernal Council, or in its more remote Beginning, as proceeding from the First Revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The Occasion which *Milton* assigns for this Revolt, as it is founded on Hints in Holy Writ, and on the Opinion of some great Writers, so it was the most proper that the Poet could have made use of.

The Revolt in Heaven is described with great Force of Imagination [Indignation], and a fine Variety of Circumstances. The Learned Reader cannot but be pleased with the Poet's Imitation of *Homer* in the last of the following Lines.

*At length into the limits of the North
They came, and Satan took his Royal Seat*

*High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
 Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and tow'rs
 From Diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of Gold
 The palace of great Lucifer (so call
 That structure in the Dialect of men
 Interpreted) —————*

Homer mentions Persons and Things, which he tells us in the Language of the Gods are call'd by different Names from those they go by in the Language of Men. *Milton* has imitated him with his usual Judgment in this particular place, wherein he has likewise the Authority of Scripture to justify him. The part of *Abdiel*, who was the only Spirit that in this Infinite Host of Angels preserved his Allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble Moral of religious Singularity. The Zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming Warmth of Sentiments and Expressions, as the Character which is given us of him denotes that generous Scorn and Intrepidity which attends Heroic Virtue. The Author, doubtless, designed it as a Pattern to those who live among Mankind in their present State of Degeneracy and Corruption.

*So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
 Among the faithless, faithful only he;
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
 Unshaken, unseduc'd, untterrify'd;
 His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeal:
 Nor Number, nor example with him wrought
 To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
 Though Single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
 Long way through hostile Scorn, which he sustain'd
 Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought;
 And with retorted Scorn his back he turn'd
 On those proud Tow'rs to swift Destruction doom'd.*



The SPECTATOR.

———*vocat in Certamina Divos.*

Virg.

{*He calls embattled Deities to Arms.*}

Saturday, March 22, 1712.



WE are now entering upon the Sixth Book of *Paradise Lost*, in which the Poet describes the Battel of Angels; having raised his Reader's Expectation, and prepared him for it by several Passages in the preceding Books. I omitted quoting these Passages in my Observations on the former Books, having purposely reserved them for the opening of this, the Subject of which gave occasion to them. The Author's Imagination was so inflamed with this great Scene of Action, that wher-ever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his Poem.

———*Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie,
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In Adamantine Chains and penal fire,
Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.*

We have likewise several noble Hints of it in the Infernal Conference.

*O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers
That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to War,
Too well I see and rue the dire event,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host*

*In horrible destruction laid thus low.
 But see the angry victor hath recall'd
 His Ministers of Vengeance and pursuit
 Back to the Gates of Heav'n: The Sulphurous hail,
 Shot after us in Storm, o'erblown hath laid
 The fiery Surge, that from the precipice
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the thunder
 Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
 Perhaps hath spent his Shafts, and ceases now
 To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.*

There are several other very Sublime Images on the same Subject in the First Book, as also in the Second.

*What when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook
 With Heav'n's afflicting Thunder, and besought
 The deep to shelter us; this Hell then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds——*

In short, the Poet never mentions any thing of this Battel but in such Images of Greatness and Terrour, as are suitable to the Subject. Among several others, I cannot forbear quoting that Passage where the Power, who is describ'd as presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the Third Book.

*Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old
 With faultring speech and visage incompo'd,
 Answer'd, I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late
 Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
 I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
 Fled not in Silence through the frighted deep
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
 Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n's Gates
 Pour'd out by Millions her victorious bands
 Pursuing——*

It required great Pregnancy of Invention, and Strength of Imagination, to fill this Battel with such Circumstances as should raise and astonish the Mind of the Reader; and, at the same time, an exactness

of Judgment to avoid every thing that might appear light or trivial. Those, who look into *Homer*, are surpris'd to find his Battels still rising one above another, and improving in Horrour, to the Conclusion of the *Iliad*. *Milton's* Fight of Angels is wrought up with the same Beauty. It is usher'd in with such Signs of Wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incens'd. The First Engagement is carried on under a Cope of Fire, occasion'd by the Flights of innumerable burning Darts and Arrows, which are discharged from either Host. The second Onset is still more terrible, as it is fill'd with those artificial Thunders, which seem to make the Victory doubtful, and produce a kind of Consternation, even in the Good Angels. This is followed by the tearing up of Mountains and Promontories; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of Majesty and Terrour. The Pomp of his Appearance, amidst the Roarings of his Thunders, the Flashes of his Lightnings, and the Noise of his Chariot Wheels, is described with the utmost Flights of Human Imagination.

There is nothing in the first and last Days Engagement, which does not appear natural and agreeable enough to the Ideas most Readers would conceive of a Fight between two Armies of Angels.

The Second Day's Engagement is apt to startle an Imagination, which has not been rais'd and qualified for such a Description, by the reading of the Ancient Poets, and of *Homer* in particular. It was certainly a very bold Thought in our Author, to ascribe the first use of Artillery to the Rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious Invention may be well suppos'd to have proceeded from such Authors, so it entered very properly into the Thoughts of that Being, who is all along described as aspiring to the Majesty of his Maker. Such Engines were the only Instruments he could have made use of to imitate those Thunders, that in all Poetry, both Sacred and Prophane, are represented as the Arms of the Almighty. The tearing up

the Hills was not altogether so daring a Thought as the former. We are, in some measure, prepared for such an Incident by the Description of the Gyants War, which we meet with among the Ancient Poets. What still made this Circumstance the more proper for the Poets use, is the Opinion of many learned Men, that the Fable of the Gyants War, which makes so great a Noise in Antiquity, [and gave Birth to the sublimest Description in *Hesiod's* Works,] was an Allegory founded upon this very Tradition of a Fight between the good and bad Angels.

It may, perhaps, be worth while to consider with what Judgment *Milton*, in this Narration, has avoided every thing that is mean and trivial in the Descriptions of the *Latin* and *Greek* Poets: and, at the same time, improved every great Hint which he met with in their Works upon this Subject. *Homer* in that Passage, which *Longinus* has celebrated for its Sublimeness, and which *Virgil* and *Ovid* have copied after him, tells us, that the Gyants threw *Offa* upon *Olympus*, and *Pelion* upon *Offa*. He adds an Epithet to *Pelion* (εἰροσίφυλλον) which very much swells the Idea, by bringing up to the Reader's Imagination all the Woods that grew upon it. There is further a great Beauty in his singling out by Name these three remarkable Mountains so well known to the *Greeks*. This last is such a Beauty as the Scene of *Milton's* War could not possibly furnish him with. *Claudian* in his Fragment upon the Gyants War, has given full Scope to that wildness of Imagination which was natural to him. He tells us, that the Gyants tore up whole Islands by the Roots, and threw them at the Gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up *Lemnos* in his Arms, and whirling it to the Skies, with all *Vulcan's* Shop in the midst of it. Another tears up Mount *Ida*, with the River *Enipeus* which ran down the sides of it; but the Poet, not content to describe him with this Mountain upon his Shoulders, tells us that the River flowed down his Back, as he held it up in that

Posture. It is visible to every judicious Reader, that such Ideas savour more of Burlesque than of the Sublime. They proceed from a Wantonness of Imagination, and rather divert the Mind than astonish it. *Milton* has taken every thing that is Sublime in these several Passages, and composes out of them the following great Image.

*From their Foundations loosning to and fro
They pluck'd the seated Hills with all their load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by the shaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their Hands:—*

We have the full Majesty of *Homer* in this short Description, improved by the Imagination of *Claudian*, without its Puerilities.

I need not point out the Description of the fallen Angels, seeing the Promontories hanging over their Heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless Beauties in this Book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the Notice of the most ordinary Reader.

There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of Poetry in this Book, and such a variety of Sublime Ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this Paper. Besides that, I find it in a great measure done to my Hand, at the end of my Lord *Roscommon's* Essay on Translated Poetry. I shall refer my Reader thither for some of the Master-Strokes in the Sixth Book of *Paradise Lost*, tho' at the same time there are many others which that noble Author has not taken notice of.

Milton, notwithstanding the Sublime Genius he was Master of, has in this Book drawn to his Assistance all the helps he could meet with among the Ancient Poets. The Sword of *Michael*, which makes so great an havock among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of the Armory of God.

*But the Sword
Of Michael from the Armory of God*

*Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
The Sword of Satan with sleep force to smite
Descending, and in half cut sheere,——*

This Passage is a Copy of that in *Virgil*, wherein the Poet tells us. that the Sword of *Aeneas*. which was given him by a Deity, broke into pieces the Sword of *Turnus*, which came from a Mortal Forge: As the Moral in this place is Divine, so by the way we may observe, that the bestowing on a Man who is favour'd by Heaven such an Allegorical Weapon, is very conformable to the old Eastern way of Thinking. Not only *Homer* has made use of it, but we find the Jewish Hero in the Book of *Maccabees*, who had fought the Battels of the chosen People with so much Glory and Success, receiving in his Dream a Sword from the hand of the Prophet *Jeremy* [*Jeremiah*]. The following Passage, wherein *Satan* is described as wounded by the Sword of *Michael*, is in imitation of *Homer*.

*The girding Sword with discontinuous wound
Pass'd through him, but th' Ethereal substance closed
Not long divisible, and from the gash
A stream of Nectarous humour issuing flow'd
Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
And all his Armour slain'd——*

Homer tells us in the same manner, that upon *Diomedes* wounding the Gods, there flow'd from the Wound an *Ichor*, or pure kind of Blood, which was not bred from Mortal Viands; and that tho' the Pain was exquisitely great, the Wound soon closed up and healed in those Beings who are vested with Immortality.

I question not but *Milton* in his Description of his furious *Moloch* flying from the Battel, and bellowing with the Wound he had receiv'd, had his Eye upon *Mars* in the *Iliad*, who upon his being wounded, is represented as retiring out of the Fight, and making an Outcry louder than that of a whole Army when it

begins the Charge. *Homer* adds, that the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, who were engaged in a general Battel, were terrified on each side with the bellowing of this wounded Deity. The Reader will easily observe how *Milton* has kept all the horreur of this Image without running into the Ridicule of it.

— *Where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce Ensigns pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloc furious King, who him defy'd,
And at his Chariot wheels to drag him bound
Threaten'd, nor from the Holy One of Heav'n
Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon
Down clov'n to the waste, with shatter'd Arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing.*—

Milton has likewise rais'd his Description in this Book with many Images taken out of the Poetical Parts of Scripture. The Messiah's Chariot, as I have before taken notice, is form'd upon a Vision of *Ezekiel*, who, as *Grotius* observes, has very much in him of *Homer's* Spirit in the Poetical Parts of his Prophecy.

The following Lines in that glorious Commission which is given the Messiah to extirpate the Host of Rebel Angels, is drawn from a Sublime Passage in the Psalms.

*Go then thou mightiest in thy Father's might
Ascend my Chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heav'n's basis, bring forth all my War
My Bow, my thunder, my almighty arms,
Gird on thy sword on thy puissant thigh.*

The Reader will easily discover many other Stroaks of the same nature.

There is no question but *Milton* had heated his Imagination with the Fight of the Gods in *Homer*, before he entered upon this Engagement of the Angels. *Homer* there gives us a Scene of Men, Heroes and Gods mixed together in Battel. *Mars* animates

the contending Armies, and lifts up his Voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the Shouts and Confusion of the Fight. *Jupiter* at the same time Thunders over their Heads; while *Neptune* raises such a Tempest, that the whole Field of Battel. and all the tops of the Mountains shake about them, The Poet tells us, that *Pluto* himself, whose Habitation was in the very Center of the Earth, was so affrighted at the shock, that he leapt from his Throne. *Homer* afterwards describes *Vulcan* as pouring down a Storm of Fire upon the River *Xanthus*, and *Minerva* as throwing a Rock at *Mars*; who, he tells us, covered seven Acres in his Fall.

As *Homer* has introduced into his Battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in Nature, *Milton* has filled his Fight of Good and Bad Angels with all the like Circumstances of Horrour. The Shout of Armies, the Rattling of Brazen Chariots, the Hurling of Rocks and Mountains, the Earthquake, the Fire, the Thunder, are all of them employed to lift up the Reader's Imagination, and give him a suitable Idea of so great an Action. With what Art has the Poet represented the whole Body of the Earth trembling, even before it was created.

*All Heaven refounded, and had Earth been then
All Earth had to its Center shook——*

In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven shaking under the Wheels of the Messiah's Chariot, with that Exception to the Throne of God?

*——— Under his burning Wheels
The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout,
All but the Throne it self of God———*

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears cloathed with so much Terrour and Majesty, the Poet has still found means to make his Readers conceive an Idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

*Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checkt
His thunder in mid volley, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.*

In a word, *Milton's* Genius which was so great in it self, and so strengthened by all the helps of Learning, appears in this Book every way Equal to his Subject[s], which was the most Sublime that could enter into the Thoughts of a Poet. As he knew all the Arts of affecting the Mind, had he not given [he knew it was necessary to give] it certain resting places and Opportunities of recovering it self from time to time: He has [therefore] with great Address intersperfed several Speeches, Reflections, Similitudes, and the like Reliefs to diversifie his Narration, and ease the Attention of his [the] Reader, that he might come fresh to his great Action, and by such a Contrast of Ideas, have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his Description.

Addison corrected and re-corrected this last sentence. The first and last readings, as in the original and second editions, are as above. The intermediate reading, according to the *Errata* in No. 369, of the original issue, is as follows:

As he knew all the Arts of affecting the Mind, he has given it certain resting places and Opportunities of recovering it self from time to time: several Speeches, Reflections, Similitudes, and the like Reliefs being intersperfed, to diversifie his Narration, and ease the attention of his Reader.



The SPECTATOR.

——— *Vt his exordia primis*

Omnia, & ipse tener Mundi concreverit orbis.

Tum durare solum, & discludere Nerea ponto

Cæperit, & rerum paullatim sumere formas. Virg.

{ *He sung the secret Seeds of Nature's Frame ;
How Seas, and Earth, and Air, and active Flame,
Fell thro' the mighty Void, and in their Fall
Were blindly gather'd in this goodly Ball.
The tender Soil then glif'ning by degrees
Shut from the bounded Earth the bounding Seas.
Then Earth and Ocean various Forms disclose,
And a new Sun to the new World arose.* Dryden. }

Saturday, March 29. 1712.



LONGINUS has observed, that there may be a Loftiness in Sentiments, where there is no Passion, and brings Instances out of Ancient Authors to support this his Opinion. The Pathetick, as that great Critick observes, may animate and inflame the Sublime, but is not essential to it. Accordingly, as he further remarks, we very often find that those, who excell most in stirring up the Passions, very often want the Talent of Writing in the Great and Sublime manner ; and so on the contrary. *Milton* has shewn himself a Master in both these ways of Writing. The Seventh Book, which we are now entering upon, is an Instance of that Sublime, which is not mixt and work'd up with Passion. The Author appears in a kind of composed and sedate Majesty ; and tho' the Sentiments do not give so great [an] Emotion as those in the former Book, they abound with as magnificent Ideas.

The Sixth Book, like a troubled Ocean, represents Greatness in Confusion; the Seventh affects the Imagination like the Ocean in a Calm, and fills the Mind of the Reader without producing in it any thing like Tumult or Agitation.

The Critick abovementioned, among the Rules which he lays down for succeeding in the Sublime way of Writing, proposes to his Reader, that he should imitate the most celebrated Authors who have gone before him, and have been engaged in Works of the same nature; as in particular that if he writes on a Poetical Subject, he should consider how *Homer* would have spoken on such an Occasion. By this means one great Genius often catches the Flame from another, and writes in his Spirit, without copying servilely after him. There are a thousand Shining Passages in *Virgil*, which have been lighted up by *Homer*.

Milton, though his own natural Strength of Genius was capable of furnishing out a perfect Work, has doubtless very much raised and ennobled his Conceptions, by such an Imitation as that which *Longinus* has recommended.

In this Book, which gives us an Account of the Six Days Works, the Poet received but very few Assistances from Heathen Writers, who were Strangers to the Wonders of Creation. But as there are many Glorious Stroaks of Poetry upon this Subject in Holy Writ, the Author has numberless Allusions to them through the whole Course of this Book. The great Critick, I have before mentioned, tho' an Heathen, has taken notice of the Sublime manner in which the Law-giver of the *Jews* has described the Creation in the first Chapter of *Genesis*; and there are many other Passages in Scripture, which rise up to the same Majesty, where this Subject is toucht upon. *Milton* has shewn his Judgment very remarkably, in making use of such of these as were proper for his Poem, and in duly qualifying those high Strains of Eastern Poetry,

which were suited to Readers whose Imaginations were set to an higher pitch than those of colder Climates.

Adam's Speech to the Angel, wherein he desires an Account of what had pass'd within the Regions of Nature before his [the] Creation, is very great and solemn. The following Lines, in which he tells him that the Day is not too far ipent for him to enter upon such a Subject, are exquisite in their kind.

*And the Great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race through sleep, suspens in Heav'n
Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His Generation, &c.——*

The Angel's encouraging our first Parent[s] in a modest pursuit after Knowledge, with the Causes which he assigns for the Creation of the World, are very just and beautiful. The Messiah, by whom, as we are told in Scripture, the Heavens were made, goes [comes*] forth in the Power of his Father, surrounded with an Host of Angels. and cloathed with such a Majesty as becomes his entering upon a Work, which, according to our Conceptions, looks like [appears] the utmost exertion of Omnipotence. What a beautiful Description has our Author raised upon that Hint in one of the Prophets. *And behold there came four Chariots out from between two Mountains, and the Mountains were Mountains of Brass.*

*About his Chariot numberless were pour'd
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And virtues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
From the Armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads between two brazen mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day, harness at hand;
Celestial Equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them spirit liv'd
Attendant on their lord: Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever-during Gates, Harmonious found
On golden Hinges moving——*

I have before taken notice of these Chariots of

God, and of these Gates of Heaven, and shall here only add, that *Homer* gives us the same Idea of the latter as opening of themselves, tho' he afterwards takes off from it, by telling us, that the Hours first of all removed those prodigious heaps of Clouds which lay as a Barrier before them.

I do not know any thing in the whole Poem more Sublime than the Description which follows, where the Messiah is represented at the head of his Angels, as looking down into the *Chaos*, calming its Confusion, riding into the midst of it, and drawing the first Outline of the Creation.

*On Heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore
They view'd the vast immeasurable Abyss
Outragious as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds
And surging waves, as Mountains to assault
Heav'n's height, and with the Center mix the Pole.*

*Silence, ye troubled waves, and thou Deep, Peace,
Said then th' Omnipotent word, your Discord end:*

*Nor slaid, but on the wings of Cherubim
Up-lifted, in Paternal Glory rode
Far into Chaos, and the world unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice: him all his train
Follow'd in bright Procession to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then staid the fervid wheels, and in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepared
In Gods eternal Store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he Center'd, and the other turn'd,
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just Circumference, O World.*

The Thought of the Golden Compasses is conceiv'd altogether in *Homer's* Spirit, and is a very noble Incident in this wonderful Description. *Homer*, when he speaks of the Gods, ascribes to them several Arms and

Instruments with the same greatness of Imagination. Let the Reader only peruse the Description of *Minerva's Ægis*, or Buckler, in the Fifth Book, with her Spear, which could [would] overturn whole Squadrons, and her Helmet, that was sufficient to cover an Army, drawn out of an hundred Cities: The Golden Compasses, in the above-mentioned Passage appear a very natural Instrument in the Hand of him, whom *Plato* somewhere calls the Divine Geometrician. As Poetry delights in cloathing abstracted Ideas in Allegories and sensible Images, we find a magnificent Description of the Creation form'd after the same manner in one of the Prophets, wherein he describes the Almighty Architect as measuring the Waters in the hollow of his Hand, meting out the Heavens with his Span, comprehending the Dust of the Earth in a Measure, weighing the Mountains in Scales, and the Hills in a Ballance. Another of them describing the Supreme Being in this great Work of Creation, represents him as laying the Foundations of the Earth, and stretching a Line upon it. And in another place as garnishing the Heavens, stretching out the North over the empty place, and hanging the Earth upon nothing. This last noble Thought *Milton* has express'd in the following Verse:

And Earth self-balan'd on her Center hung.

The Beauties of Description in this Book lie so very thick, that it is impossible to enumerate them in this Paper. The Poet has employed on them the whole Energy of our Tongue. The several great Scenes of the Creation rise up to view one after another, in such a manner that the Reader seems present at this wonderful Work, and to assist among the Quires [Choirs] of Angels, who are the Spectators of it. How glorious is the Conclusion of the first Day.

——— *Thus was the first day Ev'n and Morn.
Nor pass'd uncelebrated, nor unsung
By the Celestial Quires, when Orient light*

*Exhaling first from Darkneſs they beheld;
Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth; with joy and ſhout
The hollow univerſal Orb they fill'd.*

We have the ſame elevation of Thought in the third Day; when the Mountains were brought forth, and the Deep was made.

*Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs up heave
Into the Clouds, their tops aſcend the Sky.
So high as heav'd the tumid hills, ſo low
Down ſunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
Capacious bed of Waters——*

We have alſo the riſing of the whole vegetable World deſcribed in this Day's Work, which is filled with all the Graces that other Poets have lavished on their Deſcriptions of the Spring, and leads the Reader's Imagination into a Theatre equally ſurprizing and beautiful.

The ſeveral Glories of the Heav'n's make their appearance on the Fourth Day.

*Fiſt in his Eaſt the glorious lamp was ſeen
Regent of day, and all th' Horizon round
Inveſted with bright rays, jocond to run
His Longitude through Heav'n's high rode: the Gray
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danced
Shedding ſweet influence: leſs bright the moon,
But oppoſite in level'd Weſt was ſet,
His Mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him, for other light ſhe needed none
In that aſpect, and ſtill that diſtance keeps
Till night; then in the Eaſt her turn ſhe ſhines
Revolv'd on Heav'n's great Axle, and her reign
With thouſand leſſer lights diſtind holds,
With thouſand thouſand ſtars, that then appear'd
Spangling the Hemisphere——*

One would wonder how the Poet could be ſo concise in his Deſcription of the Six Days Works, as to

comprehend them within the bounds of an Episode, and at the same time so particular, as to give us a lively Idea of them. This is still more remarkable in his Account of the Fifth and Sixth Day[s], in which he has drawn out to our view the whole Animal Creation, from the Reptil to the Behemoth. As the Lion and the Leviathan are two of the noblest Productions in this World of living Creatures, the Reader will find a most exquisite Spirit of Poetry, in the Account which our Author gives us of them. The Sixth Day concludes with the Formation of Man, upon which the Angel takes occasion, as he did after the Battel in Heaven, to remind *Adam* of his Obedience, which was the principal Design of this his Visit.

The Poet afterwards represents the Messiah returning into Heaven, and taking a Survey of his great Work. There is something inexpressibly Sublime in this Part of the Poem, where the Author describes that great Period of Time, fill'd with so many Glorious Circumstances; when the Heavens and the Earth were finished; when the Messiah ascended up in Triumph through the Everlasting Gates; when he look'd down with pleasure upon his new Creation; when every Part of Nature seem'd to rejoice in its Existence; when the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for Joy.

*So Ev'n and Morn accomplish'd the Sixth day:
Yet not till the Creator from his Work
Desisting, tho' unwearied, up return'd,
Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,
Thence to behold this new created world
Th' addition of his empire; how it shew'd
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair
Answering his great Idea. Up he rode
Follow'd with acclamation and the Sound
Symphonious of ten thousand harps that tun'd
Angelic Harmonies: the earth, the air
Resounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heard'st)*

.. *The Heavens and all the Constellations rung,*
 .. *The Planets in their Station list'ning flood,*
 .. *While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.*
Open, ye everlasting gates, they sung,
Open, ye Heav'ns, your living doors, let in
The great Creator from his work return'd
Magnificent, his six days work, a World.

I cannot conclude this Book upon the Creation, without mentioning a Poem which has lately appeared under that Title. The Work was undertaken with so good an Intention, and is executed with so great a Mastery, that it deserves to be looked upon as one of the most useful and noble Productions in our *English* Verse. The Reader cannot but be pleased to find the Depths of Philosophy enlivened with all the Charms of Poetry, and to see so great a Strength of Reason, amidst so beautiful a Redundancy of [the] Imagination. The Author has shewn us that Design in all the Works of Nature, which necessarily leads us to the Knowledge of its first Cause. In short, he has illustrated, by numberless and incontestable Instances, that Divine Wisdom, which the Son of *Sirach* has so nobly ascribed to the Supreme Being in his Formation of the World, when he tells us, that *He created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his Works.*†

† In the advertisements immediately under this paragraph in the Original issue is the following:—

Lately Publish'd,

Creation. A Philosophical Poem. Demonstrating the Existence and Providence of a God. In Seven Books. By Sir Richard Blackmore, Knt., M.D., and Fellow of the College of Physicians in London, &c. &c.



The SPECTATOR.

*Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacious altæ
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset.
Natus homo est———*

Ov. Met.

*{ A Creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man design'd;
Conscious of Thought, of more capacious Breast,
For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest. Dryden. }*

Saturday, April 5, 1712.



HE Accounts which *Raphael* gives of the Battel of Angels, and the Creation of the World, have in them those Qualifications which the Criticks judge requisite to an Epifode. They are nearly related to the principal Action, and have a just Connection with the Fable.

The Eighth Book opens with a beautiful Description of the Impression which this Discourse of the Arch-angel made on our first Parent. *Adam* afterwards, by a very natural Curiosity, enquires concerning the Motions of those Celestial Bodies which make the most glorious Appearance among the six Days Works. The Poet here, with a great deal of Art, represents *Eve* as withdrawing from this part of their Conversation to Amusements that seem more suitable to her Sex. He well knew, that the Epifode in this Book, which is filled with *Adam's* Account of his Passion and Esteem for *Eve*, would have been improper for her hearing, and has therefore devised very just and beautiful Reasons for her Retiring.

*So spake our Sire, and by his Countenance seem'd
Entering on studious thoughts abstruse: which Eve
Perceiving where she sat retired in sight,
With lowliness Majestick from her Seat*

*And Grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
 Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers
 To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom,
 Her Nursery; they at her coming sprung,
 And toucht by her fair tendance gladder grew.
 Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
 Delighted, or not capable her ear
 Of what was high: Such pleasure she reserv'd
 Adam relating, she jole Auditors;
 Her Husband the relater she preferr'd
 Before the Angel, and of him to ask
 Chose rather: he, she knew, would intermix
 Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
 With conjugal Caresses: from his Lip
 Not words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
 Such pairs in Love, and mutual honour join'd?*

The Angel's returning a doubtful Answer to *Adam's* Enquiries, was not only proper for the Moral Reason which the Poet assigns, but because it would have been highly absurd to have given the Sanction of an Archangel to any particular System of Philosophy. The chief Points in the *Ptolemaic* and *Copernican* Hypothesis are described with great Conciseness and Perspicuity, and at the same time dressed in very pleasing and Poetical Images.

Adam, to detain the Angel, enters afterwards upon his own History, and relates to him the Circumstances in which he found himself upon his Creation; as also his Conversation with his Maker, and his first Meeting with *Eve*. There is no part of the Poem more apt to raise the attention of the Reader, than this Discourse of our great Ancestor; as nothing can be more surprizing and delightful to us, than to hear the Sentiments that arose in the first Man while he was yet new and fresh from the hands of his Creator. The Poet has interwoven every thing which is delivered upon this Subject in Holy Writ with so many beautiful Imaginations of his own, that nothing can be conceived

more just and natural than this whole Episode. As our Author knew this Subject could not but be agreeable to his Reader, he would not throw it into the relation of the six Days Works, but reserved it for a distinct Episode, that he might have an opportunity of expatiating upon it more at large. Before I enter on this part of the Poem. I cannot but take notice of two shining Passages in the Dialogue between *Adam* and the Angel. The first is that wherein our Ancestor gives an Account of the Pleasure he took in conversing with him, which contains a very noble Moral.

*For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heav'n,
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
Than fruits of Palm-tree pleasanter to thyrl
And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill,
Tho' pleasant, but thy words with Grace divine
Imbu'd, bring to their sweetness's no satiety.*

The other I shall mention is that in which the Angel gives a reason why he should be glad to hear the Story *Adam* was about to relate.

*For I that day was absent, as befell,
Bound on a Voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion towards the Gates of Hell;
Squar'd in full Legion (such command we had)
To see that none thence issued forth a Spy,
Or enemy, while God was in his work,
Lest he incens'd at such eruption bold,
Destruction with Creation might have mix'd.*

There is no question but our Poet drew the Image in what follows from that in *Virgil's* Sixth Book, where *Aeneas* and the Sibyl stand before the *Adamantine* Gates which are there describ'd as shut upon the place of Torments, and listen to the Groans, the clank of Chains, and the noise of Iron Whips that were heard in those Regions of Pain and Sorrow.

*Fast we found, fast shut
The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong;*

*But long e'er our approaching heard within
Noise, other than the sound of Dance or Song,
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.*

Adam then proceeds to give an Account of his Condition and Sentiments immediately after his Creation. How agreeably does he represent the posture in which he found himself, the beautiful Landskip that surrounded him, and the gladness of Heart which grew up in him on that occasion.

*—As new waked from soundest sleep
Soft on the flowry herb I found me laid
In balmy sweat, which with his beams the Sun
Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
Streight toward Heav'n my wondering eyes I turn'd.
And gaz'd a while the ample Sky, 'till rais'd
By quick instinctive motion up I sprung
As thitherward endeavouring, and upright
Stood on my feet; about me round I saw
Hill, Dale, and shady woods and sunny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams; by these
Creatures that liv'd, and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew,
Birds on the branches warbling; all things smit'd:
With fragrance, and with Joy my heart overflow'd.*

Adam is afterwards described as surpriz'd at his own Existence, and taking a Survey of himself, and of all the Works of Nature. He likewise is represented as discovering by the Light of Reason, that he and every thing about him must have been the effect of some Being infinitely good and powerful, and that this Being had a Right to his Worship and Adoration. His first address to the Sun, and to those parts of the Creation which made the most distinguished Figure, is very natural and amusing to the Imagination.

*—Thou Sun, said I, fair Light,
And thou enlight'ned earth, so fresh and gay,
Ye Hills and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods and Plains,
And ye that live and move, fair creatures tell,
Tell if you saw, how came I thus, how here?*

His next Sentiment, when upon his first going to Sleep he fancies himself losing his Existence, and falling away into nothing, can never be sufficiently admired. His Dream, in which he still preserves the Consciousness of his Existence, together with his removal into the Garden which was prepared for his Reception, are also Circumstances finely imagined, and grounded upon what is delivered in Sacred Story.

These and the like wonderful Incidents, in this Part of the Work, have in them all the Beauties of Novelty, at the same time that they have all the Graces of Nature. They are such as none but a great Genius could have thought of, though, upon the perusal of them, they seem to rise of themselves from the Subject of which he treats. In a Word, though they are natural they are not obvious, which is the true Character of all fine Writing.

The Impression which the Interdiction of the Tree of Life left in the Mind of our first Parent, is described with great Strength and Judgment, as the Image of the several Beasts and Birds passing in review before him is very beautiful and lively.

—————*Each Bird and Beast behold
Approaching two and two, these cowering low
With blandishment; each bird stoop'd on his Wing:
I nam'd them as they pass'd*—————

Adam, in the next place, describes a Conference which he held with his Maker upon the Subject of Solitude. The Poet here represents the Supreme Being, as making an Essay of his own Work, and putting to the tryal that reasoning Faculty, with which he had endued his Creature. *Adam* urges, in this divine Colloquy, the Impossibility of his being happy, tho' he was the Inhabitant of *Paradise*, and Lord of the whole Creation, without the Conversation and Society of some rational Creature, who should partake those Blessings with him. This Dialogue, which is supported chiefly by the Beauty of the Thoughts, without other Poetical

Ornaments, is as fine a part as any in the whole Poem: The more the Reader examines the justness and delicacy of its Sentiments, the more he will find himself pleased with it. The Poet has wonderfully preserved the Character of Majesty and Condescension in the Creator, and at the same time that of Humility and Adoration in the Creature, as particularly in those beautiful Lines.

*Thus I presumptuous ; and the Vision bright,
As with a smile more brightned, thus reply'd. &c.
———— I with leave of speech implor'd
And humble deprecation thus reply'd,
Let not my Words offend thee, Heav'nly power,
My maker, be propitious while I speak &c.*

Adam then proceeds to give an account of his second Sleep, and of the Dream in which he beheld the Formation of *Eve*. The new Passion that was awakened in him at the sight of her is touched very finely.

*Under his forming hands a Creature grew,
Manlike, but different Sex ; so lovely fair,
That what seem'd fair in all the World seem'd now
Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd,
And in her looks ; which from that time infus'd
Sweetness into my heart, unselt before,
And into all things from her air inspir'd
The spirit of Love and amorous delight.*

Adam's Distress upon losing sight of this beautiful Phantom, with his Exclamations of Joy and Gratitude at the Discovery of a real Creature, who resembled the Apparition which had been presented to him in his Dream ; the Approaches he makes to her, and his manner of Courtship, are all laid together in a most exquisite Propriety of Sentiments.

Tho' this part of the Poem is work'd up with great Warmth and Spirit, the Love, which is described in it, is every way suitable to a State of Innocence. If the Reader compares the Description which *Adam* here gives of his leading *Eve* to the Nuptial Bower, with

that which Mr. *Dryden* has made on the same Occasion in a Scene of his *Fall of Man*, he will be sensible of the great Care which *Milton* took to avoid all Thoughts on so delicate a Subject, that might be offensive to Religion or Good-manners. The Sentiments are chaste, but not cold, and convey to the Mind Ideas of the most transporting Passion, and of the greatest Purity. What a noble Mixture of Rapture and Innocence has the Author joined together, in the Reflection which *Adam* makes on the Pleasures of Love, compared to those of Sense.

*Thus have I told thee all my State, and brought
My Story to the Sum of earthly bliss
Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire; these delicacies
I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits and flowers.
Walks, and the melody of Birds; but here
Far otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superiour and unmov'd, here only weak
Against the Charm of beauties powerfull glance.
Or nature fail'd in me, and left some part
Not proof enough such object to sustain,
Or from my side subdueling, took perhaps
More than enough; at least on her bestow'd
Too much of ornament, in outward shew
Elaborate, of inward less exact.*

*When I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
And in herself compleat, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded: Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discountenanc'd, and like folly shews;*

*Authority and reason on her wait,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally ; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind and nobleness their Seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard Angelick plac'd.*

These Sentiments of Love, in our first Parent, gave the Angel such an Insight into Humane Nature, that he seems apprehensive of the Evils which might befall the Species in general, as well as *Adam* in particular, from the Excess of this Passion. He therefore fortifies him against it by timely Admonitions ; which very artfully prepare the Mind of the Reader for the Occurrences of the next Book, where the Weakness of which *Adam* here gives such distant discoveries, brings about that fatal Event which is the Subject of the Poem. His Discourse, which follows the gentle Rebuke he receiv'd from the Angel, shews that his Love, however violent it might appear, was still founded in Reason, and consequently not improper for *Paradise*.

*Neither her outside form so fair, nor ought
In procreation common to all kinds
(Though higher of the genial bed by far,
And with mysterious reverence I deem)
So much delights me as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions mixt with love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union of mind, or in us both one Soul ;
Harmony to behold in wedded pair.*

Adam's Speech, at parting with the Angel, has in it a Deference and Gratitude agreeable to an Inferior Nature, and at the same time a certain Dignity and Greatness, suitable to the Father of Mankind in his State of Innocence.

The SPECTATOR.

— *In te omnis domus inclinata recumbit.* Virg.

{ *On thee the Fortunes of our House depend.* }

Saturday, April 12. 1712.



IF we look into the three great Heroic Poems which have appear'd in the World, we may observe that they are built upon very slight Foundations. *Homer* lived near 300 Years after the *Trojan* War, and, as the Writing of History was not then in use among the *Greeks*, we may very well suppose, that the Tradition of *Achilles* and *Ulysses* had brought down but very few Particulars to his Knowledge, tho' there is no question but he has wrought into his two Poems such of their remarkable Adventures as were still talked of among his Contemporaries.

The Story of *Aeneas*, on which *Virgil* founded his Poem, was likewise very bare of Circumstances, and by that means afforded him an Opportunity of embellishing it with Fiction, and giving a full Range to his own Invention. We find, however, that he has interwoven, in the course of his Fable, the principal Particulars, which were generally believed among the *Romans*, of *Aeneas* his Voyage and Settlement in *Italy*.

The Reader may find an Abridgment of the whole Story, as collected out of the Ancient Historians, and as it was received among the *Romans*, in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

Since none of the Criticks have considered *Virgil's* Fable, with relation to this History of *Aeneas*, it may

not, perhaps, be amiss to examine it in this Light, so far as regards my present Purpose. Whoever looks into the Abridgment abovementioned, will find that the Character of *Æneas* is filled with Piety to the Gods, and a superstitious Observation of Prodiges, Oracles, and Predictions. *Virgil* has not only preserved this Character in the Person of *Æneas*, but has given a place in his Poem to those particular Prophecies which he found recorded of him in History and Tradition. The Poet took the matters of Fact as they came down to him, and circumstanced them after his own manner, to make them appear the more natural, agreeable or surprising. I believe very many Readers have been shocked at that ludicrous Prophecy, which one of the *Harpyes* pronounces to the *Trojans* in the Third Book, namely, that before they had built their Intended City, they should be reduced by Hunger to eat their very Tables. But, when they heard that this was one of the Circumstances that had been transmitted to the *Romans* in the History of *Æneas*, they will think the Poet did very well in taking notice of it. The Historian abovementioned, acquaints us that a Prophetess had foretold *Æneas*, that he should take his Voyage Westward, till his Companions should eat their Tables, and that accordingly, upon his landing in *Italy*, as they were eating their Flesh upon Cakes of Bread, for want of other Conveniences, they afterwards fed on the Cakes themselves, upon which one of the Company said merrily, 'We are eating our Tables.' They immediately took the Hint, says the Historian, and concluded the Prophecy to be fulfilled. As *Virgil* did not think it proper to omit so material a Particular in the History of *Æneas*, it may be worth while to consider with how much Judgment he has qualified it, and taken off every thing that might have appeared improper for a Passage in an Heroic Poem. The Prophetess who foretells it is an hungry *Harpy*, as the Person who discovers it is young *Ascanius*.

Heus etiam menfas consumimus inquit Iulius!

Such an Observation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a Boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the Company. I am apt to think that the changing of the *Trojan* Fleet into Water-Nymphs, which is the most violent Machine of the whole *Æneid*, and has given Offence to several Critics, may be accounted for the same way. *Virgil* himself, before he begins that Relation, premises that what he was going to tell appeared incredible, but that it was justified by Tradition. What further confirms me that this change of the Fleet was a celebrated Circumstance in the History of *Æneas*, is, that *Ovid* has given a place to the same *Metamorphosis* in his account of the Heathen Mythology.

None of the Criticks, I have met with, having considered the Fable of the *Æneid* in this Light, and taken notice how the Tradition, on which it was founded, authorizes those Parts in it which appear the most Exceptionable; I hope the Length of this Reflection will not make it unacceptable to the curious Part of my Readers.

The History, which was the Basis of *Milton's* Poem, is still shorter than either that of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*. The Poet has likewise taken care to insert every Circumstance of it in the Body of his Fable. The Ninth Book, which we are here to consider, is raised upon that brief Account in Scripture, wherein we are told that the Serpent was more subtle than any Beast of the Field, that he tempted the Woman to eat of the Forbidden Fruit, that she was overcome by this Temptation, and that *Adam* followed her Example. From these few Particulars *Milton* has formed one of the most Entertaining Fables that Invention ever produced. He has disposed of these several Circumstances among so many beautiful and natural Fictions of his own, that his whole Story looks only like a Comment upon sacred Writ, or rather seems to be a full

and compleat Relation of what the other is only an Epitome. I have insisted the longer on this Consideration, as I look upon the Disposition and Contrivance of the Fable to be the Principal Beauty of the Ninth Book, which has more *Story* in it, and is fuller of Incidents, than any other in the whole Poem. *Satan's* traversing the Globe, and still keeping within the Shadow of the Night, as fearing to be discovered by the Angel of the Sun, who had before detected him, is one of those beautiful Imaginations [with] which [he] introduces this his second Series of Adventures. Having examined the Nature of every Creature, and found out one which was the most proper for his Purpose, he again returns to Paradise; and, to avoid Discovery, sinks by Night with a River that ran under the Garden, and rises up again through a Fountain that issued from it by the Tree of Life. The Poet, who, as we have before taken notice, speaks as little as possible in his own Person, and, after the example of *Homer*, fills every Part of his Work with Manners and Characters, introduces a Soliloquy of this Infernal Agent, who was thus restless in the Destruction of Man. He is then describ'd as gliding through the Garden under the resemblance of a Mist, in order to find out that Creature in which he design'd to tempt our first Parents. This Description has something in it very Poetical and Surprising.

*So saying, through each thicket Dank or Dry
Like a black Mist, low creeping, he held on
His Midnight Search, where soonest he might find
The Serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found
In Labyrinth of many a round self-roll'd,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles.*

The Author afterwards gives us a Description of the Morning, which is wonderfully suitable to a Divine Poem, and peculiar to that first Season of Nature; he represents the Earth before it was curst, as a great Altar breathing out its Incense from all parts, and

sending up a pleasant Savour to the Nostrils of its Creator; to which he adds a noble Idea of *Adam* and *Eve*, as offering their Morning Worship, and filling up the universal Consort of Praise and Adoration.

*Now when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
Their morning incense, when all things that breath
From th' Earth's great Altar send up silent praise
To the Creatour, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair
And joy'n'd their vocal worship to the Choir
Of Creatures wanting voice——*

The Dispute which follows between our two first Parents is represented with great Art: It arises [proceeds] from a difference of Judgment, not of Passion, and is managed with Reason, not with Heat; it is such a Dispute as we may suppose might have happened in *Paradise*, had Man continued Happy and Innocent. There is a great Delicacy in the Moralities which are interspersed in *Adam's* Discourse, and which the most ordinary Reader cannot but take notice of. That force of Love which the Father of Mankind so finely describes in the Eighth Book, and which I inserted in my last *Saturday's* Paper, shews it self here in many beautiful Instances: As in those fond Regards he casts towards *Eve* at her parting from him.

*Her long with ardent look his eye pursued
Delighted but desiring more her stay.
Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated, she to him as oft engaged
To be return'd by noon amid the Bowre.*

In his impatience and amusement during her Absence.

——— *Adam the while
Waiting desirous her return, had worn
Of choicest flowers a Garland to adorn
Her Tresses, and her rural labours crown,*

*As Reapers oft are wont their Harvest Queen.
Great Joy he promised to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delay'd;*

But particularly in that passionate Speech, where seeing her irrecoverably lost, he resolves to perish with her, rather than to live without her.

*—Some curst fraud
Or enemy hath beguild thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruin'd; for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die;
How can I live without thee, how forego
Thy sweet converse and love so dearly join'd,
To live again in these wild woods forlorn!
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another rib afford, yet loss of thee
Would never from my heart; no, no, I feel
The link of nature draw me: Flesh of Flesh,
Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy State
Mine never shall be parted Bliss or Woe.*

The beginning of this Speech, and the Preparation to it, are animated with the same Spirit as the Conclusion, which I have here quoted.

The several Wiles which are put in Practice by the Tempter, when he found *Eve* separated from her Husband, the many pleasing Images of Nature, which are intermixt in this part of the Story, with its gradual and regular Progress to the fatal Catastrophe, are so very remarkable, that it would be superfluous to point out their several [respective] Beauties.

I have avoided mentioning any particular Similitudes in my Remarks on this great Work, because I have given a general account of them in my Paper on the First Book. There is one, however, in this part of the Poem which I shall here quote, as it is not only very beautiful, but the closest of any in the whole Poem; I mean that where the Serpent is describ'd as rolling forward in all his Pride, animated by the evil

Spirit, and conducting *Eve* to her Destruction, while *Adam* was at too great a distance from her, to give her his Assistance. These several Particulars are all of them wrought into the following Similitude.

—————*Hope elevates, and Joy*
Brighten's his Crest, as when a wand'ring fire
Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night
Condenses, and the cold environs round,
Kindled through agitation to a flame,
(Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends)
Hovering and blazing with delusive light,
Misleads th' amaz'd Night-wanderer from his way
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,
There swallow'd up and lost, from succour far :

That secret Intoxication of Pleasure, with all those transient flushings of Guilt and Joy which the Poet represents in our first Parents upon their eating the forbidden Fruit, to those flaggings of Spirit, damps of Sorrow and mutual Accusations which succeed it, are conceiv'd with a wonderful Imagination, and described in very natural Sentiments.

When *Dido* in the Fourth *Æneid* yielded to that fatal Temptation which ruin'd her, *Virgil* tells us, the Earth trembled, the Heavens were filled with flashes of Lightning, and the Nymphs howl'd upon the Mountain Tops. *Milton*, in the same Poetical Spirit, has describ'd all Nature as disturbed upon *Eve's* eating the forbidden Fruit.

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the Fruit, she plucked, she eat :
Earth felt the wound, and nature from her Seat
Sighing through all her works gave signs of Woe
That all was lost—————

Upon *Adam's* falling into the same Guilt, the whole Creation appears a second time in Convulsions.

—————*He scrupl'd not to eat*
Against his better knowledge ; not deceiv'd,

*But fondly overcome with Female charm.
 Earth trembled from her Entrails, as again
 In pangs, and nature gave a second groan,
 Sky lowred and muttering thunder, some sad drops
 Wept at compleating of the mortal Sin——*

As all Nature suffer'd by the guilt of our first Parents, these Symptoms of Trouble and Consternation are wonderfully imagin'd, not only as Prodigies, but as Marks of her Sympathizing in the Fall of Man.

Adam's Converſe with *Eve*, after having eaten the forbidden Fruit, is an exact Copy of that between *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in the Fourteenth *Iliad*. *Juno* there approaches *Jupiter* with the Girdle which ſhe had received from *Venus*, upon which he tells her, that ſhe appeared more charming and deſirable than ſhe ever had done before, even when their Loves were at the height. The Poet afterwards deſcribes them as reſpoſing on a Summit of Mount *Ida*, which produced under them a Bed of Flowers, the *Lotus*, the *Crocus*, and the *Hyacinth*, and concludes his Deſcription with their falling aſleep.

Let the Reader compare this with the following Paſſage in *Milton*, which begins with *Adam's* Speech to *Eve*.

*For never did thy Beauty ſince the Day
 I ſaw thee firſt and wedded thee, adorn'd
 With all Perfections ſo inflame my Senſe
 With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
 Than ever, bounty of this virtuous Tree.
 So ſaid he, and forbore not glance or toy
 Of amorous intent, well underſtood
 Of Eve, whoſe Eye darted contagious fire.
 Her hand he ſeiſed, and to a ſhady bank
 Thick over-head with verdant roof embow'd
 He led her nothing loth: Flow'rs were the Couch,
 Pansies, and Violets, and Aſphodel,
 And Hyacinth, Earth's freſheſt ſoſteſt lap.
 There they their fill of Love, and Loves diſport*

*Took largely, of their mutual guilt the Seal,
The Solace of their Sin, 'till dewy sleep
Oppress'd them*—————

As no Poet seems ever to have studied *Homer* more, or to have resembled him in the greatness of Genius than *Milton*, I think I shou'd have given but a very imperfect Account of his Beauties, if I had not observed the most remarkable Passages which look like Parallels in these two great Authors. I might, in the Course of these Criticisms, have taken notice of many particular Lines and Expressions which are translated from the *Greek* Poet, but as I thought this would have appeared too minute and over-curious. I have purposely omitted them. The greater Incidents, however, are not only set off by being shown in the same Light, with several of the same Nature in *Homer*, but by that means may be also guarded against the Cavils of the Tasteless or Ignorant.



The SPECTATOR.

† *Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.* Hor.
{ He knows what best befits each character. }

[———— *quis talia fando*
Temperet à lachrymis] ———— Virg.]
{ Who can relate such Woes without a Tear? }

Saturday, April 19. 1712.



THE Tenth Book of *Paradise Lost* has a greater variety of Persons in it than any other in the whole Poem. The Author upon the winding up of his Action introduces all those who had any Concern in it, and shews with great Beauty the influence which it had upon each of them. It is like the last Act of a well written Tragedy, in which all who had a part in it are generally drawn up before the Audience, and represented under those Circumstances in which the determination of the Action places them.

I shall therefore consider this Book under four Heads, in relation to the Celestial, the Infernal, the Human, and the Imaginary Persons, who have their respective Parts allotted in it.

To begin with the Celestial Persons: The Guardian Angels of *Paradise* are described as returning to Heaven upon the Fall of Man, in order to approve their Vigilance; their Arrival, their manner of Reception, with the Sorrow which appeared in themselves, and in those Spirits who are said to Rejoice at the Conversion of a Sinner, are very finely laid together in the following Lines.

*Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste
 Th' angelick guards ascended, mute and sad
 For man, for of his fate by this they knew
 Much wond'ring how the subtle Fiend had stoln*

† This motto was changed in second edition for the one below it.

*Entrance unseen. Soon as th' unwelcome news
 From earth arriv'd at Heaven Gate, displeas'd
 All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare
 That time Celestial visages, yet mixt
 With pity, violated not their blifs.
 About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
 Th' Ethereal people ran, to hear and know
 How all befell: They tow'rs the throne supream
 Accountable made haste to make appear
 With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance,
 And easily approv'd; when the most High
 Eternal father from his secret cloud,
 Amidst in thunder utter'd thus his voice.*

The same Divine Person who in the foregoing parts of this Poem interceded for our first Parents before their Fall, overthrew the rebel Angels, and created the World, is now represented as descending to *Paradise*, and pronouncing Sentence upon the three Offenders. The cool of the Evening, being a Circumstance with which Holy Writ introduces this great Scene, it is Poetically described by our Author, who has also kept religiously to the form of Words, in which the three several Sentences were passed upon *Adam*, *Eve*, and the Serpent. He has rather chosen to neglect the numerousness of his Verse, than to deviate from those Speeches which are recorded on this great occasion. The Guilt and Confusion of our first Parents standing naked before their Judge, is touch'd with great Beauty. Upon the Arrival of *Sin* and *Death* into the Works of the Creation, the Almighty is again introduced as speaking to his Angels that surrounded him.

*See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance
 To waste and havock yonder world, which I
 So fair and good created, &c.*

The following Passage is formed upon that glorious Image in Holy Writ which compares the Voice of an innumerable Host of Angels, uttering Hallelujahs, to the Voice of mighty Thunderings, or of many Waters.

*He ended, and the Heav'nly Audience loud
Sung Hallelujah, as the found of Seas,
Through multitude that sung: Just are thy ways,
Righteous are thy Decrees in all thy Works,
Who can extenuate thee? —————*

Though the Author in the whole course of his Poem, and particularly in the Book we are now examining, has infinite Allusions to places of Scripture, I have only taken notice in my Remarks of such as are of a Poetical Nature, and which are woven with great Beauty into the Body of his [this] Fable. Of this kind is that Passage in the present Book, where describing *Sin* [and *Death*] as marching through the Works of Nature, he adds,

*—————Behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale horse: —————*

Which alludes to that Passage in Scripture so wonderfully Poetical, and terrifying to the Imagination. *And I looked, and behold, a pale Horse, and his Name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with sickness, and with the beasts of the earth.* Under this first head of Celestial Persons we must likewise take notice of the Command which the Angels received, to produce [the] several Changes in Nature, and fully the Beauty of the Creation. Accordingly they are represented as infecting the Stars and Planets with malignant Influences, weakning the Light of the Sun, bringing down the Winter into the milder Regions of Nature, planting Winds and Storms in several Quarters of the Sky, storing the Clouds with Thunder, and in short, perverting the whole frame of the Universe to the condition of its Criminal inhabitants. As this is a noble Incident in the Poem, the following Lines, in which we see the Angels heaving up the Earth, and

placing it in a different posture to the Sun from what it had before the Fall of Man, is conceived with that sublime Imagination which was so peculiar to this great Author.

*Some say he bid his angels turn a scanse
The Poles of earth twice ten degrees and more
From the Sun's Axle; they with labour push'd
Oblique the Centrick Globe———*

We are in the second place to consider the Infernal Agents under the View which *Milton* has given us of them in this Book. It is observed by those who would set forth the Greatness of *Virgil's* Plan, that he conducts his Reader thro' all the Parts of the Earth which were discover'd in his time. *Asia, Africk* and *Europe* are the several Scenes of his Fable. The Plan of *Milton's* Poem is of an infinitely greater extent, and fills the Mind with many more astonishing Circumstances. *Satan*, having surrounded the Earth seven times, departs at length from *Paradise*. We afterwards [then] see him steering his Course among the Constellations, and after having traversed the whole Creation, pursuing his Voyage through the *Chaos*, and entering into his own Infernal Dominions.

His first appearance in the Assembly of Fallen Angels is work'd up with Circumstances which give a delightful Surprise to the Reader; but there is no Incident in the whole Poem which does this more than the Transformation of the whole Audience, that follows the account their Leader gives them of his Expedition. The gradual change of *Satan* himself is described after *Ovid's* manner, and may vie with any of those celebrated Transformations which are looked upon as the most beautiful parts in that Poet's Works. *Milton* never fails of improving his own Hints, and bestowing the last finishing Touches to every Incident which is admitted into his Poem. The unexpected Hiss which rises in this Episode, the Dimensions and Bulk of *Satan* so much superior to those of the Infernal Spirits who lay under the same Transformation, with the

annual Change which they are supposed to suffer, are Instances of this kind. The Beauty of the Diction is very remarkable in this whole Epifode, as I have observed in the Sixth Paper of these my Remarks the great Judgment with which it was contrived.

The Parts of *Adam* and *Eve*, or the Humane Persons, come next under our Consideration. *Milton's* Art is no where more shewn than in his conducting the parts of these our first Parents. The Representation he gives of them, without falsifying the Story, is wonderfully contrived to influence the Reader with Pity and Compassion towards them. Tho' *Adam* involves the whole Species in Misery, his Crime proceeds from a Weakness which every Man is inclin'd to pardon and commiserate, as it seems rather the frailty of Humane Nature, than of the Person who offended. Every one is apt to excuse a Fault which he himself might have fallen into. It was the Excess of Love for *Eve* that ruined *Adam* and his Posterity. I need not add, that the Author is justified in this particular by many of the Fathers, and the most Orthodox Writers. *Milton* has by this means filled a great part of his Poem with that kind of Writing which the *French* Criticks call the *Tender*, and which is in a particular manner engaging to all sorts of Readers.

Adam and *Eve*, in the Book we are now considering, are likewise drawn with such Sentiments as do not only interest the Reader in their Afflictions, but raise in him the most melting Passions of Humanity and Commiseration. When *Adam* sees the several Changes in Nature produced about him, he appears in a disorder of Mind suitable to one who had forfeited both his Innocence and his Happiness. He is filled with Horror, Remorse, Despair; in the anguish of his Heart he expostulates with his Creator for giving [having given] him an unasked Existence.

*Did I request thee, Maker, from my Clay
To mould me Man, did I solicit thee
From darkness to promote me, or here place*

*In this delicious Garden ? as my will
Concurr'd not to my being, 'twere but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign, and render back
All I receiv'd—*

He immediately after recovers from his Presumption, owns his Doom to be just, and begs that the Death which is threaten'd him may be inflicted on him.

*Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fix'd on this day ? Why do I overlive,
Why am I mock'd with Death, and lengthen'd out
To Deathless pain ? how gladly would I meet
Mortality my Sentence, and be earth
Insensible, how glad would lay me down
As in my mothers lap ! there should I rest
And sleep secure ; his dreadful voice no more
Would thunder in my ears, no fear of worse
To me and to my off-spring, would torment me
With cruel expectation.—*

This whole Speech is full of the like Emotion, and varied with all those Sentiments which we may suppose natural to a Mind so broken and disturb'd. I must not omit that generous Concern which our first Father shows in it for his Posterity, and which is so proper to affect the Reader.

*Hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my height
Of Happiness : yet well, if here would end
The misery, I deserv'd it, and would bear
My own deservings ; but this will not serve ;
All that I eat, or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated Curse. O voice once heard
Delightfully, encrease and multiply,
Now Death to hear !—*

*In me all
Posterity stands curst : Fair Patrimony
That I must leave you, Sons ; O were I able
To waste it all my self, and leave you none !*

*So disinherited how would you blefs
 Me now your curse! Ah, why should all Mankind
 For one Mans fault thus guiltless be condemn'd
 If guiltless? But from me what can proceed
 But all corrupt———*

Who can afterwards behold the Father of Mankind extended upon the Earth, uttering his Midnight Complaints, bewailing his Existence, and wishing for Death, without sympathizing with him in his Distreis?

*Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
 Through the still night, not now, as ere man fell
 Wholesome and cool and mild, but with black Air
 Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom
 Which to his evil Conscience represented
 All things with double terrour: on the Ground
 Outstretch'd he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
 Curs'd his Creation, Death as oft accus'd
 Of tardy execution.———*

The Part of *Eve* in this Book is no less passionate, and apt to sway the Reader in her Favour. She is represented with great Tendernefs as approaching Adam, but is spurn'd from him with a Spirit of Upbraiding and Indignation conformable to the Nature of Man, whose Passions had now gained the Dominion over him. The following Passage, wherein she is described as renewing her Addresses to him, with the whole Speech that follows it, have something in them exquisitely moving and pathetick.

*He added not, and from her turn'd: but Eve
 Not so repuls'd, with tears that ceas'd not flowing
 And tresses all disorder'd, at his Feet
 Fell humble, and embracing them, besought
 His peace, and thus proceeding in her plaint.
 Forsake me not thus Adam, witnefs Heav'n
 What love sincere and reverence in my heart
 I bear thee, and unwitting have offended,
 Unhappily deceiv'd; thy Suppliant
 I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,
 Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,*

*Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
My only strength and stay: Forlorn of thee
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
While yet we live scarce one short hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace, &c.*

Adam's Reconcilement to her is worked up in the same Spirit of Tenderness. *Eve* afterwards propoſes to her Huſband, in the Blindneſs of her Deſpair, that to prevent their Guilt from deſcending upon Poſterity they ſhould reſolve to live Childleſs; or, if that could not be done, that they ſhould ſeek their own Deaths by violent Methods. As thoſe Sentiments naturally engage the Reader to regard the Mother of Mankind with more than ordinary Commiſeration, they likewiſe contain a very fine Moral. The Reſolution of dying to end our Miſeries does not ſhew ſuch a degree of Magnanimity as a Reſolution to bear them, and ſubmit to the Diſpenſations of Providence. Our Author has therefore, with great Delicacy, repreſented *Eve* as entertaining this Thought, and *Adam* as diſapproving it.

We are, in the laſt place, to conſider the Imaginary Perſons, or *Sin* and *Death*, who act a large part in this Book. Such beautiful extended Allegories are certainly ſome of the fineſt Compoſitions of Genius; but, as I have before obſerved, are not agreeable to the Nature of an Heroic Poem. This of *Sin* and *Death* is very exquisite in its kind, if not conſidered as a Part of ſuch a Work. The Truths contained in it are ſo clear and open that I ſhall not loſe time in explaining them, but ſhall only obſerve, that a Reader who knows the ſtrength of the *English* Tongue will be amazed to think how the Poet could find ſuch apt Words and Phraſes to deſcribe the Action[s] of theſe [thoſe] two imaginary Perſons, and particularly in that Part where *Death* is exhibited as forming a Bridge over the *Chaos*: a Work ſuitable to the Genius of *Milton*.

Since the Subject I am upon gives me an Opportunity of ſpeaking more at large of ſuch Shadowy and

imaginary Persons as may be introduced into Heroic Poems, I shall beg leave to explain my self on [in] a Matter which is curious in its kind, and which none of the Criticks have treated of. It is certain *Homer* and *Virgil* are full of imaginary Persons, who are very beautiful in Poetry when they are just shown, without being engaged in any Series of Action. *Homer* indeed represents *Sleep* as a Person, and ascribes a short Part to him in his *Iliad*; but we must consider that tho' we now regard such a Person as entirely Shadowy and unsubstantial, the Heathens made Statues of him, placed him in their Temples, and looked upon him as a real Deity. When *Homer* makes use of other such Allegorical Persons it is only in short Expressions, which convey an ordinary Thought to the Mind in the most pleasing manner, and may rather be looked upon as Poetical Phrases than allegorical Descriptions. Instead of telling us that Men naturally fly when they are terrified, he introduces the Persons of *Flight* and *Fear*, who he tells us are inseparable Companions. Instead of saying that the Time was come when *Apollo* ought to have received his Recompence, he tells us that the *Hours* brought him his Reward. Instead of describing the Effects which *Minerva's* *Aegis* produced in Battell, he tells us that the Brims of it were encompassed by *Terrour*, *Rout*, *Discord*, *Fury*, *Pursuit*, *Massacre* and *Death*. In the same Figure of speaking he represents *Victory* as following *Diomedes*; *Discord* as the Mother of Funerals and Mourning, *Venus* as dressed by the *Graces*, *Bellona* as wearing *Terrour* and *Consternation* like a Garment. I might give several other Instances out of *Homer*, as well as a great many out of *Virgil*. *Milton* has likewise very often made use of the same way of speaking, as where he tells us that *Victory* sat on the right hand of the Messiah, when he march'd forth against the Rebel Angels; that at the rising of the Sun the *Hours* unbair'd the Gates of Light; that *Discord* was the Daughter of *Sin*. Of the same nature are those Expressions where describing the singing of the Nightin-

gale, he adds, *Silence was pleased*; and upon the Messiah's bidding Peace to the *Chaos*, *Confusion heard his voice*. I might add innumerable other* Instances of our Poet's writing in this beautiful Figure. It is plain that these I have mentioned, in which Persons of an imaginary Nature are introduced, are such short Allegories as are not designed to be taken in the literal Sense, but only to convey particular Circumstances to the Reader after an unusual and entertaining Manner. But when such Persons are introduced as principal Actors, and engaged in a Series of Adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an Heroic Poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal Parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking that *Sin* and *Death* are as improper Agents in a Work of this Nature, as *Strength* and *Violence* [*Necessity*] in one of the Tragedies of *Eschylus*, who represented those two Persons nailing down *Prometheus* to a Rock, for which he has been justly censured by the greatest Criticks. I do not know any imaginary Person made use of in a more Sublime manner of thinking than that in one of the Prophets, who describing God as descending from Heaven, and visiting the Sins of Mankind, adds that dreadful Circumstance; *Before him went the Pestilence*. It is certain this imaginary Person might have been described in all her purple Spots. The *Fever* might have march'd before her, *Pain* might have stood at her right Hand, *Phrenzy* on her left, and *Death* in her Rear. She might have been introduced as gliding down from the Tail of a Comet, or darted upon the Earth in a Flash of Lightning: She might have tainted the Atmosphere with her Breath; the very glaring of her Eyes might have scattered Infection. But I believe every Reader will think that in such Sublime Writings the mentioning of her as it is done in Scripture has something in it more just, as well as great, than all that the most fanciful Poet could have bestowed upon her in the Richness of his Imagination.

The SPECTATOR.

*Crudelis ubique**Luclus, ubique pavor, & plurima Mortis Imago. Virg.**{ All Parts resound with Tumults, Complaints, and Fears,
And grisly Death in sundry Shapes appears.**Dryden. }**Saturday, April 26. 1712.*

ILTON has shewn a wonderful Art in describing that variety of Passions which arise in our first Parents upon the breach of the Commandment that had been given them. We see them gradually passing from the triumph of their Guilt thro' Remorse, Shame, Despair, Contrition, Prayer, and Hope, to a perfect and compleat Repentance. At the end of the Tenth Book they are represented as prostrating themselves upon the Ground, and watering the Earth with their Tears: To which the Poet joins this beautiful Circumstance, that they offer'd up their Penitential Prayers on the very place where their Judge appeared to them when he pronounced their Sentence.

*They forthwith to the place**Repairing, where he judg'd them, prostrate fell**Before him reverent, and both confes'd**Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears**Watring the Ground*

[There is a Beauty of the same kind in a tragedy of *Sophocles*, where *Oedipus*, after having put out his own Eyes, instead of breaking his Neck from the Palace Battlements (which furnishes so elegant an Entertainment for our *English* Audience) desires that he may be conducted to Mount *Cithæron*, in order to end his Life in that very Place where he was expos'd in his

Infancy, and where he should then have died, had the Will of his Parents been executed.]

As the Author never fails to give a Poetical turn to his Sentiments, he describes in the beginning of this Book the Acceptance which these their Prayers met with, in a short Allegory form'd upon that beautiful Passage in Holy Writ. *And another Angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden Censer: and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all Saints upon the Golden Altar, which was before the throne: And the smoke of the incense which came with the Prayers of the Saints, ascended up before God.*

————— *To Heav'n their prayers
Flew up, nor mis'd the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd
Dimensionless through Heav'nly doors, then clad
With incense, where the Golden Altar fum'd,
By their great intercessor, came in sight
Before the Father's throne—————*

We have the same Thought expressed a second time in the Intercession of the Messiah, which is conceived in very Emphatick Sentiments and Expressions.

Among the Poetical parts of Scripture which *Milton* has so finely wrought into this part of his Narration, I must not omit that wherein *Ezekiel* speaking of the Angels who appeared to him in a Vision, adds that *every one had four faces, and that their whole bodies, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings were full of eyes round about.*

————— *The Cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
Had, like a double Janus, all their shape
Spangled with eyes—————*

- The assembling of all the Angels of Heaven to hear the Solemn Decree pass'd upon Man is represented in very lively Ideas. The Almighty is here describ'd as remembering Mercy in the midst of Judgment, and

commanding *Michael* to deliver his Message in the mildest terms, least the Spirit of Man, which was already broken with the Sense of his Guilt and Misery, should fail before him.

————— *Yet least they faint*
At the sad Sentence rigorously urg'd,
For I behold them soft'ned and with tears
Bewailing their excess, all terror hide.

The Conference of *Adam* and *Eve* is full of moving Sentiments. Upon their going Abroad after the melancholy Night which they had passed together, they discover the Lion and the Eagle pursuing each of them their Prey towards the Eastern Gates of *Paradise*. There is a double Beauty in this Incident, not only as it presents great and just Omens which are always agreeable in Poetry; but as it expresses that Enmity which was now produced in the Animal Creation. The Poet, to shew the like changes in Nature, as well as to grace his Fable with a noble Prodigy, represents the Sun in an Eclipse. This particular Incident has likewise a fine effect upon the Imagination of the Reader, in regard to what follows: For, at the same time that the Sun is under an Eclipse, a bright Cloud descends in the Western quarter of the Heavens, filled with an Host of Angels, and more luminous than the Sun it self. The whole Theatre of Nature is darkned, that this glorious Machine may appear in all its lustre and magnificence.

————— *Why in the East*
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning light
More orient in that Western cloud that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heav'nly fraught?
He err'd not; for by this the Heav'nly bands
Down from a Sky of Jasper lighted now
In Paradise, and on a Hill made halt;
A glorious apparition————

I need not observe how properly this Author, who always suits his Parts to the Actors whom he intro-

duces, has employed *Michael* in the Expulsion of our first Parents from *Paradise*. The Arch-angel on this occasion neither appears in his proper Shape, nor in that familiar manner with which *Raphael* the sociable Spirit entertained the Father of Mankind before the Fall. His Person, his Port and Behaviour, are suitable to a Spirit of the highest Rank, and exquisitely describ'd in the following Passage.

————— *Th' Archangel soon drew nigh
Not in his shape Celestial; but as man
Clad to meet man; over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flow'd
Livelier than Melibæan, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by Kings and Heroes old
In time of truce; Iris had dipt the Wooff:
His starry helm, unbuckled, shew'd him prime
In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side
As in a glistring Zodiack hung the Sword,
Satan's dire dread, and in his hand the Spear.
Adam bow'd low; he kingly from his state
Inclined not, but his coming thus declar'd.*

Eve's Complaint upon hearing that she was to be removed from the Garden of *Paradise* is wonderfully beautiful. The Sentiments are not only proper to the Subject, but have something in them particularly soft and womanish.

*Must I then leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
Thee, native Soil, these happy walks and shades,
Fit haunt of Gods? Where I had hoped to spend
Quiet though sad the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both. O flow'rs
That never will in other Climate grow,
My early visitation, and my last
At Even, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first opening bud, and gave you names,
Who now shall rear you to the Sun, or rank
Your tribes, and water from th' ambrosial fount?
Thee lastly, Nuptial bowre, by me adorn'd*

*With what to fight or smell was sweet; from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower world, to this obscure
And wild, how shall we breath in other air
Less pure, accuslom'd to immortal fruits ?*

Adam's Speech abounds with Thoughts which are equally moving, but of a more Masculine and elevated Turn. Nothing can be conceived more Sublime and Poetical, than the following Passage in it :

*This most afflicts me, that departing hence
As from his face I shall be hid, deprived
His blessed Count'nance; here I could frequent.
With worship, place by place where he vouchsafed
Presence divine, and to my Sons relate;
On this mount he appear'd, under this tree
Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this fountain talk'd :
So many grateful Altars I would rear
Of grassie turf, and pile up every Stone
Of lustre from the brook, in memory,
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling Gums and fruits and flowers :
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footsteps trace ?
For though I fled him angry, yet recall'd
To life prolong'd and promised race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost Skirts
Of Glory, and far off his Steps adore.*

The Angel afterwards leads *Adam* to the highest Mount of *Paradise*, and lays before him a whole Hemisphere, as a proper Stage for those Visions which were to be represented on it. I have before observed how the Plan of *Milton's* Poem is in many Particulars greater than that of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*. *Virgil's* *Hero*, in the last of these Poems, is entertained with a sight of all those who are to descend from him; but tho' that Episode is justly admired as one of the noblest

Designs in the whole *Æneid*, every one must allow that this of *Milton* is of a much higher Nature. *Adam's* Vision is not confined to any particular Tribe of Mankind, but extends to the whole Species.

In this great Review, which *Adam* takes of all his Sons and Daughters, the first Objects he is presented with exhibit to him the Story of *Cain* and *Abel*, which is drawn together with much Closeness and Propriety of Expression. That Curiosity and natural Horror which arises in *Adam* at the Sight of the first dying Man is touched with great beauty.

*But have I now seen death, is this the way
I must return to native dust? O Sight
Of terror foul and ugly to behold,
Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!*

The second Vision sets before him the Image of Death in a great Variety of Appearances. The Angel, to give him a General Idea of those Effects, which his Guilt had brought upon his Posterity, places before him a large Hospital, or Lazar-house, fill'd with Persons lying under all kinds of Mortal Diseases. How finely has the Poet told us that the sick Persons languished under Lingring and Incurable Distempers by an apt and Judicious use of such Imaginary Beings, as those I mentioned in my last *Saturday's* Paper.

*Dire was the tossing, deep the Groans, Despair
Tended the Sick, busie from Couch to Couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invoked
With vows as their chief good and final hope.*

The Passion which likewise rises in *Adam* on this Occasion is very natural.

*Sight so deform what Heart of rock could long
Dry-ey'd behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Tho' not of Woman born; Compassion quell'd
His best of Man, and gave him up to tears.*

The Discourse between the Angel and *Adam* which follows, abounds with noble Morals.

As there is nothing more delightful in Poetry, than a Contrast and Opposition of Incidents, the Author, after this melancholy prospect of Death and Sickness, raises up a Scene of Mirth. Love and Jollity. The secret Pleasure that steals into *Adam's* Heart, as he is intent upon this Vision, is imagined with great Delicacy. I must not omit the Description of the loose Female troupe, who seduced the Sons of God as they are call'd in Scripture.

*For that fair female troupe thou saw'st that seem'd
Of Goddesses so Blithe, so Smooth, so Gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists
Womans domestick honour and chief praise;
Bred only and compleated to the taste
Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and trouble the tongue, and roul the Eye.
To these that sober race of Men, whose lives
Religious tilled them the Sons of God,
Shall yield up all their vertue, all their fame
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of those fair Atheists——*

The next Vision is of a quite contrary Nature, and filled with the Horrors of War. *Adam*, at the sight of it, melts into Tears, and breaks out in that passionate Speech;

*———O what are these
Deaths ministers not Men, who thus deal death
Inhumanly to Men, and multiply
Ten thousand fold the Sin of him who slew
His Brother: for of whom such Massacre
Make they but of their Breth'ren, men of men?*

Milton, to keep up an agreeable variety in his Visions, after having raised in the Mind of his Reader the several Ideas of Terror which are conformable to the Description of War, passes on to those softer Images of Triumphs and Festivals, in that Vision of Lewdness and Luxury, which ushers in the Flood.

As it is visible, that the Poet had his Eye upon *Ovid's* account of the universal Deluge, the Reader may observe with how much Judgment he has avoided every thing that is redundant or puerile in the *Latin* Poet. We do not here see the Wolf swimming among the Sheep, nor any of those wanton Imaginations which *Seneca* has found fault with, as unbecoming this great Catastrophe of Nature. If our Poet has imitated that Verse in which *Ovid* tells us, that there was nothing but Sea, and that this Sea had no Shoar to it, he has not set the Thought in such a light as to incur the Censure which Criticks have passed upon it. The latter part of that Verse in *Ovid* is idle and superfluous ; but just and beautiful in *Milton*.

*Jamque mare & tellus nullum discrimen habebant,
Nil nisi pontus erat, deerant quoque littora ponto.* *Ovid.*

—————*Sea cover'd Sea,
Sea without Shoar*—————

Milton.

In *Milton* the former part of the Description does not forestall the latter. How much more great and solemn on this occasion is that which follows in our *English* Poet,

—————*And in their palaces
Where luxury late reign'd, Sea Monsters whelp'd
And Stab'd*—————

than that in *Ovid*, where we are told, that the Sea Calfs lay in those places where the Goats were used to browse ? The Reader may find several other Parallel Passages in the *Latin* and *English* Description of the Deluge, wherein our Poet has visibly the Advantage. The Sky's being over-charged with Clouds, the descending of the Rains, the rising of the Seas, and the appearance of the Rainbow, are such Descriptions as every one must take notice of. The Circumstance relating to *Paradise* is so finely imagined and suitable to the Opinions of many learned Authors, that I cannot forbear giving it a place in this Paper.

*Then shall this mount
Of Paradise by might of Waves be moved
Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees a drift
Down the great river to the opening Gulf,
And there take root an Island salt and bare,
The haunt of Seals and Orcs, and Sea-Mews clang:*

The Transition which the Poet makes from the Vision of the Deluge, to the Concern it occasioned in Adam, is exquisitely graceful, and copied after *Virgil*, tho' the first Thought it introduces is rather in the Spirit of *Ovid*.

*How didst thou grieve, then, Adam. to behold
The end of all thy Off-spring, end so sad,
Depopulation; thee another flood,
Of tears and sorrow, a flood thee also drown'd,
And sunk thee as thy Sons: 'till gently rear'd
By th' Angel, on thy feet thou stoodst at last,
Though comfortless, as when a father mourns
His Children, all in view destroy'd at once.*

I have been the more particular in my Quotations out of the Eleventh Book of *Paradise Lost*, because it is not generally reckoned among the most shining Books of this Poem. For which reason, the Reader might be apt to overlook those many Passages in it, which deserve our Admiration. The Eleventh and Twelfth are indeed built upon that single Circumstance of the Removal of our first Parents from *Paradise*; but tho' this is not in it self so great a Subject as that in most of the foregoing Books, it is extended and diversified with so many surprizing Incidents and pleasing Episodes, that these two last Books can by no means be looked upon as unequal Parts of this divine Poem. I must further add, that had not *Milton* represented our first Parents as driven out of *Paradise*, his Fall of Man would not have been compleat, and consequently his Action would have been imperfect.

THE SPECTATOR.

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus*—— Hor.
{—— *What we hear moves less than what we see.*
Roscommon.}

Saturday, May, 3. 1712.



MILTON, after having represented in Vision the History of Mankind to the First great Period of Nature, dispatches the remaining Part of it in Narration. He has devised a very handsome Reason for the Angel's proceeding with *Adam* after this manner; tho' doubtless, the true Reason was the difficulty which the Poet would have found to have shadowed out so mixt and complicated a Story in visible Objects. I could wish, however, that the Author had done it, whatever Pains it might have cost him. To give my Opinion freely, I think that the exhibiting Part of the History of Mankind in Vision, and part in Narrative, is as if an History Painter should put in Colours one half of his Subject, and write down the remaining part of it. If *Milton's* Poem flags any where, it is in this Narration, where in some places the Author has been so attentive to his Divinity, that he has neglected his Poetry. The Narration, however, rises very happily on several Occasions, where the Subject is capable of Poetical Ornaments, as particularly in the Confusion which he describes among the Builders of *Babel*, and in his short Sketch of the Plagues of *Egypt*. The Storm of Hail and Fire, with the Darkness that overspread the Land for three Days, are described with great Strength. The beautiful Passage, which follows, is raised upon noble Hints in Scripture.

— *Thus with ten wounds*
The River-Dragon tam'd at length submits
To let his Sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as Ice
More harden'd after thaw, till in his rage
Pursuing whom he late dismiss'd, the Sea
Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass
As on dry land between two Chrysal walls,
Aw'd by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided—

The *River-Dragon* is an Allusion to the Crocodile, which inhabits the *Nile*, from whence *Egypt* derives her Plenty. This Allusion is taken from that Sublime Passage in *Ezekiel*. *Thus saith the Lord God, behold, I am against thee Pharaoh King of Egypt, the great Dragon that lieth in the midst of his Rivers, which hath said, My River is mine own, and I have made it for my self.* Milton has given us another very noble and Poetical Image in the same Description, which is copied almost Word for Word out of the History of *Moses*.

All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning watch;
 Then through the fiery pillar and the cloud
 God looking forth, will trouble all his host,
 And craze their Chariot Wheels : *when by command*
Moses once more his potent Rod extends
Over the Sea ; the Sea his Rod obeys ;
On their Embattel'd ranks the waves return
And overwhelm their War :—

As the Principal Design of this *Episode* was to give *Adam* an Idea of the Holy Person, who was to re-instate Human Nature in that Happiness and Perfection from which it had fallen, the Poet confines himself to the Line of *Abraham*, from whence the *Messiah* was to Descend. The Angel is described as seeing the Patriarch actually travelling towards the Land of *Promise*, which gives a particular Liveliness to this part of the Narration.

I see him, but thou canst not, with what faith

*He leaves his Gods, his Friends, and [his] native Soil
 Ur of Chaldæa, passing now the Ford
 To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
 Of Herds and flocks, and numerous fervitude;
 Not wand'ring poor, but trusting all his wealth
 With God, who call'd him, in a Land unknown.
 Canaan he now attains; I see his tents
 Pitch't about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
 Of Moreh, there by promise he receives
 Gift to his Progeny of all that Land;
 From Hamath Northward to the Desert South;
 (Things by their names I call, though yet unnam'd.)*

As *Virgil's* Vision in the Sixth *Æneid* probably gave *Milton* the Hint of this whole *Episode*, the last Line is a Translation of that Verse, where *Anchises* mentions the Names of Places, which they were to bear hereafter.

Hæc tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terræ.

The Poet has very finely represented the Joy and Gladness of Heart, which rises in *Adam* upon his Discovery of the Messiah. As he sees his Day at a distance through Types and Shadows, he rejoices in it; but when he finds the Redemption of Man compleated, and *Paradise* again renewed, he breaks forth in Rapture and Transport,

*O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
 That all this good of evil shall produce. &c.*

I have hinted, in my Sixth Paper on *Milton*, that an Heroic Poem, according to the Opinion of the best Criticks, ought to end happily, and leave the Mind of the Reader, after having conducted it through many Doubts and Fears, Sorrows and Disquietudes, in a state of Tranquillity and Satisfaction. *Milton's* Fable, which had so many other Qualifications to recommend it, was deficient in this Particular. It is here therefore, that the Poet has shewn a most exquisite Judgment, as well as the finest Invention, by finding out a Method to supply this Natural Defect in his Subject. Accordingly he leaves the Adversary of Mankind, in

the last View which he gives us of him, under the lowest State of Mortification and Disappointment. We see him chewing Ashes, grovelling in the Dust, and loaden with Supernumerary Pains and Torments. On the contrary, our two first Parents are comforted by Dreams and Visions, cheared with Promises of Salvation, and, in a manner, raised to a greater Happiness than that which they had forfeited : In short, *Satan* is represented miserable in the height of his Triumphs, and *Adam* triumphant in the height of Misery.

Milton's Poem ends very nobly. The last Speeches of *Adam* and the Arch-angel are full of Moral and Instructive Sentiments. The Sleep that fell upon *Eve*, and the effects it had in quieting the Disorders of her Mind, produces the same kind of Consolation in the Reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful Speech which is ascrib'd to the Mother of Mankind, without a secret Pleasure and Satisfaction.

*Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know ;
For God is also in Sleep, and dreams advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Presaging, since with Sorrow and Hearts distress
Wearied I fell asleep : but now lead on ;
In me is no delay : with thee to go
Is to stay here ; without thee here to stay
Is to go hence unwilling ; thou to me
Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou
Who for my wilful crime art banish'd hence.
This further Consolation yet secure
I carry hence ; though all by me is lost
Such favour, I unworthy, am vouchsaf'd,
By me the promis'd Seed shall all restore.*

The following Lines which conclude the Poem rise in a most glorious blaze of Poetical Images and Expressions.

Heliodorus in his *Æthiopicks* acquaints us that the Motion of the Gods differs from that of Mortals, as the former do not stir their Feet, nor proceed Step by Step, but slide o'er the Surface of the Earth by an

uniform Swimming of the whole Body. The Reader may observe with how Poetical a Description *Milton* has attributed the same kind of Motion to the Angels who were to take Possession of *Paradise*.

*So spake our Mother Eve, and Adam heard
Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh
Th' Arch-angel flood, and from the other hill
To their fix'd station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening mist
Ris'n from a River, o'er the marshy glides,
And gathers ground fast at the lab'ers heel
Homeward returning. High in Front advanc'd,
The brandish'd Sword of God before them blas'd
Fierce as a Comet———*

The Author helped his Invention in the following Passage, by reflecting on the Behaviour of the Angel, who, in Holy Writ, has the Conduct of *Lot* and his Family. The Circumstances drawn from that Relation are very gracefully made use of on this Occasion.

*In either hand the hastning Angel caught
Our ling'ring Parents, and to the Eastern gate
Led them direct; and down the Cliff as fast
To the subject'd plain; then disappear'd.
They looking back &c.———*

The Prospect [Scene] which our first Parents are surpris'd with upon their looking back on *Paradise*, wonderfully strikes the Reader's Imagination, as nothing can be more natural than the Tears they shed on that Occasion.

*They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy Seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming brand, the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery Arms:
Some natural tears they dropp'd, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to chuse
Their place of rest, and providence their Guide:*

If I might presume to offer at the smallest Alteration

in this Divine Work, I should think the Poem would end better with the Passage here quoted, than with the two Verses which follow.

*They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.*

These two Verses, though they have their Beauty, fall very much below the foregoing Passage, and renew in the Mind of the Reader that Anguish which was pretty well laid by that Consideration,

*The World was all before them, where to chuse
Their place of rest, and providence their Guide.*

The number of Books in *Paradise Lost* is equal to those of the *Æneid*. Our Author in his First Edition had divided his Poem into ten Books, but afterwards broke the Seventh and the Eleventh each of them into two different Books, by the help of some small Additions. This second Division was made with great Judgment, as any one may see who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a Chimerical Beauty as that of resembling *Virgil* in this particular, but for the more just and regular Disposition of this great Work.

Those who have read *Bossu*, and many of the Criticks who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular Moral which is inculcated in *Paradise Lost*. Tho' I can by no means think with the last-mentioned *French* Author, that an Epic Writer first of all pitches upon a certain Moral, as the Ground-work and Foundation of his Poem, and afterwards finds out a Story to it: I am, however, of Opinion, that no just Heroic Poem ever was, or can be made, from whence one great Moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in *Milton* is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined: it is in short this, *that Obedience to the Will of God makes Men happy, and that Disobedience makes them miserable*. This is visibly the Moral of the principal Fable which turns upon *Adam* and *Eve*, who

continued in *Paradise* while they kept the Command that was given them, and were driven out of it as soon as they had transgressed. This is likewise the Moral of the principal Epiode, which shews us how an innumerable multitude of Angels fell from their State of Bliss, and were cast into Hell upon their Disobedience. Besides this great Moral, which may be looked upon as the Soul of the Fable, there are an infinity of Under-Morals which are to be drawn from the several parts of the Poem, and which make this Work more useful and instructive than any other Poem in any Language.

Those who have criticised on the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad*, and *Aeneid*, have taken a great deal of pains to fix the number of Months or Days contain'd in the Action of each of those Poems. If any one thinks it worth his while to examine this Particular in *Milton*, he will find that from *Adam's* first Appearance in the Fourth Book, to his Expulsion from *Paradise* in the Twelfth, the Author reckons ten Days. As for that part of the Action which is described in the three first Books, as it does not pass within the Regions of Nature, I have before observ'd that it is not subject to any Calculations of Time.

I have now finish'd my Observations on a Work which does an Honour to the *English* Nation. I have taken a general View of it under those four Heads, the Fable, the Characters, the Sentiments and the Language, and made each of them the Subject of a particular Paper. I have in the next place spoken of the Censures which our Author may incur under each of these Heads, which I have confined to two Papers, tho' I might have enlarged the number, if I had been disposed to dwell on so ungrateful a Subject. I believe, however, that the severest Reader will not find any little fault in Heroic Poetry, which this Author has fallen into, that does not come under one of those Heads among which I have distributed his several Blemishes. After having thus treated at large of *Paradise Lost*, I could not think it sufficient to have celebrated this Poem in the whole, without descending to Particulars. I have therefore bestowed a

Paper upon each Book, and endeavored not only to shew [prove] that the Poem is beautiful in general, but to point out its particular Beauties, and to determine wherein they consist. I have endeavoured to shew how some Passages are beautiful by being Sublime, others by being Soft, others by being Natural ; which of them are recommended by the Passion, which by the Moral, which by the Sentiment, and which by the Expression. I have [likewise] endeavoured to shew how the Genius of the Poet shines by a happy Invention, a distant Allusion, or a judicious Imitation ; how he has copied or improved *Homer* or *Virgil*, and raised his own Imaginations by the use which he has made of several Poetical Passages in Scripture. I might have inserted [also] several Passages of *Tasso*, which our Author has likewise* imitated ; but as I do not look upon *Tasso* to be a sufficient Voucher, I would not perplex my Reader with such Quotations, as might do more Honour to the *Italian* than the *English* Poet. In short, I have endeavoured to particularize those innumerable Kinds of Beauty, which it would be tedious to recapitulate, but which are essential to Poetry, and which may be met with in the Works of this great Author. Had I thought, at my first engaging in this Design, that it would have led me to so great a length, I believe I should never have entered upon it ; but the kind Reception which it has met with among those whose Judgments I have a Value for, as well as the uncommon Demands which my Bookseller tells me has been made for these particular Discourses, give me no Reason to repent of the Pains I have been at in composing them.



English Reprints.

5TH ADDRESS.

1ST DECEMBER 1869.

Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

THE assumption, in May last, of the publication in addition to the editing of the Series; while it has ensured its perpetuation and increase, has inevitably somewhat slackened the appearance of new works. Nevertheless in the present year, 9 Reprints containing about 1350 pages will have been issued, as compared with 12 Reprints and 1592 pages in 1868. The aggregate 21 books containing the entire texts of 33 publications originally printed between 1482 and 1712, A.D.

In addition: the Large Paper Edition has been commenced and brought down to *The Monk of Evesham*. Many lovers of choice books have bestowed emphatic approval upon the issue in this form, quite apart from its very low price.

My most grateful thanks are due and tendered, for a large assistance and support constantly afforded to me, as well in the Production as in the Sales.

LOOKING forward: I have on this occasion to announce further growth in the Series; and in so doing to invite attention to sizes of pages and the like.

I. Foolscap 8vo. THE ORDINARY ISSUE. Seven Reprints, originally announced for this year, being carried on to 1870; I propose—unforeseen obstacles not preventing—undertaking, if possible, the following 8vo works, in the undermentioned order, and at the prices stated at pp. 8-14; which prices are approximate within a sixpence per work, as it is not easy to forecast exactly the varying expenses of so many books:—

W. HABINGTON. *Castara*. 1640.

R. ASCHAM. *The Scholemaster*. 1570.

Tottel's Miscellany. *Songes and Sonnettes* by H. HOWARD, and other. 1557

Rev. T. LEVER. *Sermons*. 1550.

W. WEBBE. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*. 1586.

Sir W. RALEIGH and G. MARKHAM. *The Fight in the 'Revenge.'* 1590-5.

T. SACKVILLE and T. NORTON. *Ferrex and Porrex*. 1560.

J. HALL. *Hora Vacua*.

T. TUSSEY. *Fine Hundred Points of Husbandrie*. 1580.

MILTON. *Reason of Church Government*. 1641. *Letter to Hartlib*. 1644.

Rev. P. STUBBES. *The Anatomie of Abuses*. 1583.

Sir T. ELYOT. *The Governour*. 1531.

Two large works will be interpolated, when ready—the “Harmony of Bacon’s *Essays*,” 3s., which is partially done. This, when finished, will be followed by J. Howell’s *Epistole Ho-Eliaana*, which will be issued at 6s. The prices in all instances being proportionate to the bulk of the work.

II. The *Foolscap 4to*, 'Large Paper Edition,' will be continued from time to time, at prices corresponding to the 8vo Issue.

I have now to introduce two new sizes.

III. *Demy 4to*. Previous to the first 'English Reprint'—Milton's *Areopagitica*—being sent to press, it was foreseen that the size then adopted—scap. 8vo—though possessing many advantages, would be inconvenient in cases where a Reprint would exceed 800 or 1000 pages in that size. Subsequent observation and experiment would seem to show *Demy 4to*, to be as small a form of page capable of carrying a host of letters, and yet at the same time clear, readable, handy and handsome, as may perhaps be found.

In this size, I purpose issuing, from time to time, works that now most of us never dream of possessing; either from the scarcity of the original texts, or the cost of any existing reprints. In fact, to reproduce an old folio or bulky quarto, at the price of an ordinary modern book; as 5s., 7s. 6d., 10s., 15s., and the like. The present scale of cheapness being maintained.

Initial letters have been specially engraved for these 4tos. One alphabet, from the Gothic designs of JUAN DE YCIAR in his scarce *Orthographias practicas*, published at Saragossa in 1548 and again in 1550; and other letters from those in use by our own early printers, from JOHN DAY to the two BARKERS. Altogether, with the best modern printing, these 4tos will be both beautiful and excessively cheap.

They will be issued in stiff covers, *uncut* edges.

Their contents will interest even more than their appearance. The pioneer volume, now in preparation, contains two translations, &c. by RICHARD EDEN: which are *criteria* as to the general Cosmical knowledge in England in 1553, and in 1555.

(1.) *The Treatyse of Newe India*, a translation from SEBASTIAN MUNSTER'S *Cosmographia*, was published at an anxious time in 1553. The English fleet, under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor—consisting of the *Bona Speranza*, 120 tons: the *Edward Bonaventura*, 160 tons; the *Bona Confidentia*, 90 tons—sent out 'by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota, Esquier, gouvernor of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen,' had not long left the English shores—Willoughby never to return—in its attempt to reach Cathay by the North-East. While there was no news, but a continual anxiety; Eden thus shows his purpose in his Dedication of this work:—

Yet sure I am aswel they which set forthe or take vpon them this viage, as also they which shal hereafter attempt ye lyke, may in this small boke as in a little glasse, see some cleare light, not only how to learne by the example, dammage, good successe, and aduentures of others, how to behaue them selues and direct theyr viage to their vtmost commoditie, but also if due successe herein should not chauce according vnto theyr hope and expectation (as oftentimes chanceth in great affaires) yet not for one foyle or fal, so to be dismayed as wyth shame and dishonor to leaue with losse, but rather to the death to persist in a godly honeste, and lawfull purpose; knowing that whereas one death is dewe to nature, the same is more honourably spent in such attempts as may be to the glory of God and commoditie of our countrey, then in soft beddes at home, among the teares and weping of women.

(2.) Under the title of *The decadcs of the newe world or west India*,

Eden compiled a number of translations from the works of **PETER MARTYR ANGLERIA**, **OVIDIO Y VALDES**, **LOPEZ DE GOMARA**, **PIGAFETTA** and others : giving striking and *fresh* accounts of the discovery and subjection of the New World and of the Circumnavigation of the Globe. Intermixed with these : are the first accounts of the two English voyages to Guinea in 1553 and 1554 ; and the earliest English notices of Russia, with the exception of the account of R. Chancellor's voyage, omitted by Eden because of Clement Adam's recent narration of it, from Chancellor's own mouth.

For the multifarious contents of this first Demy 4to Reprint—equal in quantity to over 1200 fcap. 8vo pages—see pp. 4-6. The price will be 10s.

IV. Imperial Folio. Yet a fourth form for large illustrated works is in contemplation. The first Reprint in this size will be of a work which has nearly perished out of mind, but which strikingly illustrates a subject that thrills every Englishman.

The engraver **AUGUSTINE RYTHIER** published in 1590 a somewhat condensed translation from the Italian of the Florentine **PIETRO UBALDINI** (formerly Illuminator to Edward VI., but then a resident in London), *Concerninge the Spanishe fleetes invading Englands in the yeare 1588 and ouerthrowne by Her Maiestie's Naue, &c. &c.*

For this small 4to tract, Ryther engraved eleven Plates to scale, showing the positions of the fleets (by the representation of the ships) in the several actions. These plates are now being engraved in facsimile : and though the progress is slow, even to tediousness, I am in hopes that this volume will appear in 1870 ; and if possible be published for 10s. 6d.

It is therefore hoped, that, in one or other of these forms, the Series may be adequate to the production of any English book.

In conclusion : I shall as heretofore be thankful for any suggestions.

Every month or six weeks at most ought, to see some fresh Reprint. Should a longer interval occur : that is not to be imputed to an imaginary cessation of the Series, of which—the books now just clearing expenses—I have no anticipation whatever : but to my limited leisure time and to difficulties in production.

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Of twoo notable thynges as touchyng the West Indies: And of the great rychesse brought from thense into Spayne.

Of the mynes of golde, and the manner of workyng in theym.

Of the manner of fysshinge for perles.

Of the familiaritie which certeyne of the Indians haue wyth the denyll, and how they receaue answer of hym of thynges to coome.

Of the temperature of the regions vnder or neare to the burnt lyne cauled *Torrida zona* or the Equinoctiall: and of the dyuers seasons of the yeaere.

Of dyuers particular thynges, as woormes, serpentes, leastes, foules, trees, &c.

Of trees, fruites, and plantes. Of Reedes or Canes.

Of venomous apples wherwith they poyson theyr arrows.

Of fysshes and o. the manner of fysshynge.

Of th[e] increase and decrease. that is rysynge and faullynge of our Ocean and Southe sea cauled the sea of *Sur*.

Of the straight or narowe passage of the lande lyng betweene the North and South sea, by the whiche soyces may much sooner and easier be brought from the Islandes of *Molucca* into Spayne by the West Ocean then by that way wherof the Portugales sayle into East India.

Howe thynges that are of one kynde, dyffer in forme and qualitie, accordynge to the nature of the place where they are engendred or growe. And of the beastes cauled Tygers.

Of the maners and customes of the Indians of the firme lande, and of theyr women.

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Also of the vyage to CATHAY and East India by the north sea: And of certeyne secretes touchyng the same vyage, declared by the duke of Moscouie his ambassadour to an excellent lerned gentelman of Italie, named GALEATIUS BUTRIGARIUS.

Lykewyse of the vyages of that woorthy owlde man Sebastian Cabote, yet liuyng in Englande, and at this present the gouernour of the company of the marchantes of Cathay in the cite of London. [STER and IACOBUS BASTALDUS.]

(2) A briefe description of Moscouia after the later wryters, as SEBASTIAN MUN-

(3) Of the North regions and of the moderate and continuall heate in coulede regions aswell in the nyght as in the day in soomer season. Also howe those regions are habitable to th[e] inhabitants of the same, contrary to th[e] opinion of the owlde wryters.

(4) The historie written in the latin toonge by PAULUS IOVUS bysshoppe of Nuceria in Italie, of the legation or ambassade of greate Basilius Prince of Moscouia, to pope Clement the. vii. of that name: In which is conteyned the description of Moscouia with the regions confininge abowte the same euen vnto the great and ryche Empire of Cathay. [SIGISMUNDUS LIBERUS.]

(5) Other notable thynges concernynge Moscouia gathered owt of the bookes of

[After which Eden tells us. "As concernynge Moscouia and Cathay, I was mynded to haue added hereunto dyuers other thynges, but that for certeyne considerations I was perswaded to procede no further. Vnto whose requeste, herein satisfyng rather other then my selfe, wyllynge otherwyse to haue accomplyssed this booke to further perfection, I was content to agree for two causes especially mouynge me whereof the one is, that as touchyng these trades and vyages, as in maner in al

other sciences, there are certeyne secretes not to bee publysshed and made common to all men. The other cause is, that the partenars at whose charge this booke is prynted, although the copy whereof they haue wrought a longe space haue cost them nought doo not neuerthelesse cease dayly to caule vpon me to make an end and proceade no further; affirmynge that the booke wyll bee of to great a pryce and not euery mans money: fearyng rather theyr owne losse and hynderaunce, then carefull to bee beneficiall to other, as is now in manner the trade of all men. Which ordinarie respecte of priuate commoditie hath at this tyme so lyttle moued me, I take god to wytnesse, that for my paynes and trauayles taken herein such as they bee, I may vpon iust occasion thynke my selfe a looser manne waves, except such men of good inclination as shall take pleasure and feele sum commoditie in the knowlege of these thynges, shall thynke me woorthy theyr good wordie, wherewith I shal repute my selfe and my trauayles so abundantly satysfied, that I shall repute other mens paynes a recompense for my losses, as they may bee indeede. yf men bee not vrthankefull, which only vice of ingratitude hath hyndered the worlde of many benefites."]

6) The letters missiue of EDWARD VI. in 1553.

8. Other notable thynges as touchynge the Indies [chiefly out of the books of FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA, 'and partly also out of the carte made by SEBASTIAN CABOT.']

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The fyrste discouerynge of the Weste Indies.

[ledge of the Indies.

What manner of man Chrystopher Colon was: and howe he came fyrst to the know-

What labour and trauayle Colon tooke in attemptyng his fyrst vyage to the Indies.

Of newe Spayne cauled Noua Hispana, or Mexico.

Of Peru.

Of the great ryuer cauled Rio de la Plata (that is) the ryuer of syluer.

Of the hygher East India cauled India Tercera or Trecera.

Of the landes of Laborador and Baccalaos, lying west and northwest from Eng-
lande, and beinge parte of the firme lande of the West Indies.

The discouerynge of the lande of Floryda.

[abowt the same.

An opinion that Europa, Africa, and Asia, are llandes: and of certayne nauigations

That the Spanyardes haue sayled to the Antipodes (that is) suche as go fiete to fiete
ageynst vs, &c.

Who fyrst founde the needle of the compasse, and the vse thereof.

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What degrees are.

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(2) Of the myne of golde and the qualitie thereof in particular.

(3) Of the myne of siluer and the qualitie thereof.

(4) The maner of workynge in golde mynes of Egipte in owld tyme.

10. The description of the two viages made owt of England into
Guinea in Affricke [in 1553, 1554].

[Eden here writes. "That these vyages to Guinea are placed after the booke of
Metals as separate from other vyages, the cause hereof is, that after I had deliuered
the sayde booke of metalles to the handes of the printers, I was desyred by certeyne
my frendes to make summe mention of these viages, that sum memorie thereof myght
remaine to our posteritie."]

He thus concludes his description, "And to haue sayde thus much of these vyages
t may suffice. For (as I haue sayd before) Whereas the partenars at whose charges
this book is prynted, wold longe sence haue me proceaded no further, I had not
thought to haue written any thyng of these vyages but that the liberalitie of master
Toy encoraged me to attempt the same. Which I speake not to the reproche of other
in whome I thynke there lacked no good wyll, but that they thought the booke wolde
be to chargeable."]

11. The maner of fyndynge the Longitude of regions.

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	Collated with the surreptitious edition 'The Tragedie of Gorboduc,' of 1565.		
	(2) Sackville's <i>THE INDUCTION to The</i>		

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2 6		London. 1563.	1 0	
		29. John Hall.		
		<i>HORÆ VACIVÆ</i> , or Essays. Some occasionall considerations. London. 1646.	0 6	
1 6		30. Thomas Tusser.		
		<i>FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUSBANDRIE</i> , as well for the Champion, or open Countreie, as also for the woodland, or Seuerall, mixed in euerie Month with <i>HUSWIFERIE</i> with diuers other lessons, as a diet for the former, of the properties of windes, plantes, hops, herbes, bees and approued remedies for sheepe and cattle, with many other matters both profitable and not vnpleasant for the Reader London. 1580.	1 6	
4 0		31. John Milton.		
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		(2) <i>THE REASON ON CHURCH-GOVERNEMENT</i> urg'd against Prelacy. By Mr. John Milton. In two Books. [London] 1641.		
		(3) Milton's Letter <i>OF EDUCATION</i> . To Master Samuel Hartlib. [London. 5 June 1644.]	1 0	
2 6		32. Rev. Phillip Stubbes.		
		(1) <i>THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES</i> : conteyning a discoverie or briefe Summarie of such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as now raigne in many Christian Countreies of the World: but especialie in a veriefamous ILANDE called AILGNA [<i>i.e.</i> Anglia]: Together with most fearefull Examples of Gods ludgements, executed vpon the wicked for the same, aswell in AILGNA of late, as in other places, elsewhere London. 1 Maij. 1583.		} Stubbes. Vol. 2/6 }
		(2) The Second part of <i>THE ANATOMIE OF ABUSES</i> London. 1583.	2 0	
5 0		33. Sir Thomas Elyot.		
		<i>THE GOVERNOR</i> . The boke named the Gouvernor, deuised by ye Thomas Elyot Knight. Londini M.D.xxxi. Collated with subsequent editions.	2 0	} Vol. Elyot. 2/6 }
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